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ABSTRACT

This report uses national and case-study data to address the degree to which limited-English-proficient (LEP) students are served by Chapter 1 programs. Although nationally the ethnic distribution of Chapter 1 funds has paralleled trends in the child-poverty population, there is great variation at the state and school-district level in the proportions of LEP children served. In some districts it is mistakenly believed that bilingual or English-as-a-Second-Language instruction is a substitute for Chapter 1 education. In addition, few districts have the capacity to test academic achievement in languages other than English, or, to a lesser extent, Spanish. Native students have not been displaced by immigrant students, but inclusion of both along with other factors may have served to reduce per-pupil allocations of Chapter 1 funds. The following recommendations are made for the reform of Chapter 1: (1) clarify eligibility; (2) expand the federal role in developing assessments in native languages; (3) concentrate funding in disadvantaged areas; (4) update Chapter 1 poverty data more frequently; and (5) monitor services and outcomes for LEP students. Four figures and 24 tables present study findings and other data. An appendix profiles some urban districts. (Contains 35 references.) (SLD)

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EDUCATING IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Chapter 1 in the Changing City

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EDUCATING IMMIGRANT CHILDREN: CHAPTER 1 IN THE CHANGING CITY

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Michael Fix and
Wendy Zimmermann

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ABSTRACT

This report uses national and case-study data to address the degree to which limited-English-proficient (LEP) students are served by Chapter 1. Chapter 1 is the largest federal education program aimed at economically disadvantaged children. Three specific questions are addressed.

Is Chapter 1 reaching the numerous immigrant children who are LEP? Although nationally the ethnic distribution of Chapter 1 funds has closely paralleled trends in the child poverty population, there is great variation at the state and school-district level in the proportions of LEP children served.

Where they are not being served, what barriers to access do they confront? In some districts it is mistakenly believed that bilingual or ESL instruction is a substitute for Chapter 1 and/or that Chapter 1 services should be delivered only in English. In addition, few school districts have the capacity to test academic achievement in language other than English, and to a lesser extent, Spanish.

Where they are being served, are native-born populations being displaced? Native students have not been directly displaced but their inclusion may have contributed, along with other factors, to reduced per-pupil allocations of Chapter 1 funds.

The study makes five major recommendations for reform of Chapter 1. (1) Clarify eligibility. (2) Expand the federal role in developing assessment instruments in native languages. (3) Concentrate funding in disadvantaged areas. (4) Update Chapter 1 poverty data more frequently. (5) Monitor services and outcomes for LEP students.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chapter 1 is the largest federal grants program for elementary and secondary schools. This $6.8 billion program provides supplemental compensatory education aimed at economically disadvantaged children who are performing poorly in school. One in nine school-age children in the United States now receives instruction under Chapter 1.

This report focuses on the degree to which limited-English-proficient (LEP) students receive services under the Chapter 1 program, addressing three equity-related policy questions: (1) Is Chapter 1 reaching the numerous immigrant children who are LEP? (2) Where they are being served, are native-born populations being displaced in Chapter 1 by newcomers to the nation's schools? (3) Where they are not being served, what barriers to access do they confront?

Answers to these questions can help inform debate over the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and of Chapter 1.

Study Approach

The study reviews national data on trends within the child population theoretically eligible to participate in Chapter 1

and on Chapter 1 participation. It then uses case studies of four urban school districts, conducted in the fall of 1992, to take a more detailed look at Chapter 1 participation and program implementation. The case studies collected administrative records, school district data, and documents accompanying legal action, supplemented by in-person and telephone interviews with staff and administrators of Chapter 1 and of district bilingual and multilingual departments, principals in selected Chapter 1 schools, community activists, and public interest lawyers.

Immigration and Demographic Trends

Two broad trends in federal policy set the context for examining LEP student access to Chapter 1 resources.

The first trend is the generally inclusive immigration policies of the United States. Immigrants now account for 35 percent of the net annual population increase; immigrants and their children account for more than 50 percent. The number of first- and second-generation immigrants ages 5 to 14 will almost double in the next 20 years and will account for more than half of the increase in that population cohort.

This new immigration has led to a rapid increase in the number of persons who have difficulty speaking English, largely concentrated in the nation's cities. One-half of Miami's population, one-third of Los Angeles's population, and one-fifth of New York's population reported in the 1990 Census that they do not speak English "very well." As a result, rising numbers of school-age children who are LEP have entered the nation's schools. Between 1986 and 1991, the share of LEP students rose by 52 percent, while the overall school population increased by only 4 percent. The numbers are even more striking in places with high levels of immigration. In California, for example, the LEP student population rose by 74 percent during the 1980s. In addition, concentra-

tions of LEP students are not limited to areas usually associated with large-scale immigration. LEP students now account for one-quarter of Oakland's and over one-third of Boston's total school population.

The second, and sharply contrasting federal policy trend is the sharp decline in targeted spending on programs intended to help integrate immigrants into our society. There was a 48 percent reduction in federal expenditures for bilingual education during the 1980s, despite a 50 percent rise in the LEP student population. Through FY 1993 total Title VII spending on bilingual education remains at less than $200 million a year. And the smaller targeted federal education programs for immigrant children have also been reduced.

Chapter 1 funding has been expanding slowly, with real gains in 9 or the past 10 years, and 37 percent real growth since 1988. Spending on Chapter 1 is now 35 times greater than federal spending on bilingual education, underlining the importance of Chapter 1 for LEP children.

Findings

(1) Are LEP/Immigrant Children Served by Chapter 1?

Nationally, the ethnic distribution of Chapter 1 funds has closely paralleled trends in the child poverty population—for LEP and non-LEP populations alike. However, there is great variation at the state and school-district level in the proportions of LEP children served by Chapter 1. About 35 percent of LEP students nationwide are in Chapter 1. But only 10 percent of Florida's LEP population is served, for example, compared to over 50 percent in California.

There is a growing body of evidence emerging from recent litigation in Florida and Massachusetts and from several other studies of Chapter 1 that LEP students are underrepresented in a significant number of school districts. In responding to a

survey on this issue, for example, 12 of 31 state education agencies reported that "no Chapter 1 services at all are provided to Chapter 1-eligible LEP students."

Our own analysis confirms the fact that LEP students are not always proportionately represented in Chapter 1. At the same time, our case studies dramatize that it often takes either legal or political pressure to achieve representative participation. Thus, LEP children have not historically participated in the Chapter 1 program in Washington, D.C., nor until a recent legal challenge in Boston. They have, however, been largely integrated in Houston and Oakland. This suggests that in jurisdictions where non-English-speaking populations are larger and better established—principally in the West and Southwest—the distribution of Chapter 1 resources has been targeted differently than where LEP populations are smaller and/or newer.

(2) Do LEP Recipients of Chapter 1 Displace Natives?

Our evidence indicates that native students have not been directly displaced in Chapter 1 by LEP students. But where LEP students have been folded into Chapter 1, their inclusion may have contributed, along with other factors, to a reduction in the per-pupil allocation of Chapter 1 dollars. The effects of new LEP entrants into Chapter 1 coincides with broad increases in the non-LEP Chapter 1 population.

Why did no direct displacement appear to take place? Because policymakers expanded the size of the population served by Chapter 1. This expansion was accomplished, in part, by a switch from tying Chapter 1 services to individual students to delivering services on a schoolwide basis. Because all students in a school can be counted as being served when this approach is taken, districts can credibly claim to serve far greater numbers of students in their Chapter 1 programs. However, the expansion in Chapter 1 participation and the shift to school-wide programs raise questions about what "being served" actually means.

(3) What Barriers to Chapter 1 Do LEP Students Confront?

Why does Chapter 1 often fail to reach LEP students, many of whom are poor, achieving below grade level and living in concentrated poverty?

First, the purpose of Chapter 1 has been to overcome poor children's educational disadvantage by providing them with *supplemental* remedial services. Thus, the receipt of bilingual or ESL instruction delivered as a child's basic education should not make him or her ineligible for Chapter 1 services, and Chapter 1 should be delivered in the form that is most effective in reducing their educational disadvantage. In some districts, however, due in part to language in the law itself, it is mistakenly believed (a) that bilingual or ESL instruction is a substitute for Chapter 1, and/or (b) that Chapter 1 services should be delivered only in English.

Second, we found that some districts identify instructional programs for special needs students with differing ethnic or racial groups. As one senior urban school administrator told us:

> Bilingual education and the Emergency Immigrant Education Act were for the browns, Chapter 1 was for the blacks, and the magnet programs and special education were for the whites.

Third, how Chapter 1 dollars make their way from Congress through the intergovernmental system to the classroom can inhibit the equitable distribution of Chapter 1 funds and, in the end, prove to be a barrier to LEP student participation.

Federal grants to states are based on a formula that heavily weights child poverty as recorded by the decennial Census. The linking of state grants under Chapter 1 to Census-based child poverty rates has meant that state receipts did not take account of rapid population change over the past decade resulting in part from immigration. Further, this linkage means that substantial shifts in Chapter 1 funds will take place from

the East to the West and Southwest with the release of the 1990 Census, even though high concentrations of LEP children will remain in the areas that are losing population, exacerbating the competition for resources in those states.

At the state and the district level, funds are allocated in large part on the basis of the number of children in AFDC or in the free and reduced-price lunch program. To the extent that these allocations are based on AFDC tallies, they may not fully reflect the presence of immigrant LEP children, since most recent immigrants are effectively barred from using federal cash benefit programs. Subsidized lunch data are better but still imperfect, given the broadly held reluctance on the part of some ethnic groups to use any public benefits.

Fourth, practices used to target children for Chapter 1 services at the school level can be a barrier to LEP participation. Within schools, children are typically identified as being eligible for Chapter 1 services on the basis of academic achievement, as determined by low scores on state or nationally-normed tests. However, in at least some districts these tests are administered only in English. LEP students are not tested, and as a result, are not admitted to Chapter 1. This problem is aggravated by the limited availability of basic skills' tests in languages other than English and Spanish.

Implications for Chapter 1 Reform

The report makes five major recommendations.

1. **Clarify eligibility for Chapter 1.** This can be done by removing the requirement to distinguish between needs stemming from limited English proficiency and educational deprivation and by making it clear that Chapter 1 services may be provided in immigrants' native languages.

2. **Expand the federal role in developing assessment instruments in native languages**. This is necessary to ensure that the skills of LEP students are appropriately assessed and systematically included in the assessments on which funding allocations are based.

3. **Concentrate Chapter 1 funding in disadvantaged areas**. The nation's immigrant population is highly urbanized and our evidence indicates that the foreign-born make up a rising share of urban populations living in high poverty areas. Efforts to further focus Chapter 1 funds could seek to allocate a greater share of total Chapter 1 funding to Concentration Grants, or to combine Basic and Concentration Grants, allocating a single stream of funds to school districts with the greatest concentration of poverty.

4. **Update Chapter 1 poverty data more frequently**. One promising approach that has recently been advanced by the Census Bureau would use the same tax and social security records that are now used to annually update the *population* (versus poverty) estimates done by the Census. This income data, when supplemented with data from other sources such as food stamp program record files, could help identify trends in income and poverty status over time across different local jurisdictions.

5. **Monitor Services and Outcomes for LEP students**. More study of the services received by LEP students in Chapter 1 and especially schoolwide programs is also needed, as is broad dissemination of effective program models for LEP children.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Few, if any, public institutions have felt the impact of high recent levels of immigration as much as the nation's schools. The country's schools—especially its urban school districts—have historically been called on to educate large numbers of low-income students, many with special needs. They are now being asked to serve rapidly increasing numbers of immigrant children, many of whom speak little or no English.

In this report we focus on the degree to which limited-English-proficient (LEP) children receive services under the federal Chapter 1 program. Chapter 1 is the federal government's largest single grants program for elementary and secondary schools.[1] This $6.8 billion program provides support for supplemental compensatory education aimed at economically disadvantaged children who are performing poorly in school. The program, along with Project Head Start, was enacted as part of the War on Poverty in the 1960s, and together they are the cornerstones of the federal government's commitment to educating disadvantaged children. Chapter 1 has historically focused on reading, writing, and mathematics skills and on children in elementary school. The program's reach is extraordinarily broad: One in nine school-age children in the United States now receives supplementary instruction under its aegis.

We raise three equity-related policy issues concerning LEP children's participation in Chapter 1. First, are Chapter 1 services reaching the large number of immigrant children in the nation's schools who are limited-English-proficient?[2] These children are frequently poor, live in concentrated poverty, and perform poorly in school. In short, they seem to present the profile of students who have a strong equitable claim and, perhaps in some instances, a right to benefit from Chapter 1.

Second, what are the implications of serving newcomers, many of whom are LEP, for native-born populations? Have urban school districts, which are so frequently arenas of inter-ethnic political conflict, found ways to serve new populations without displacing old ones? Or does participation in Chapter 1 represent a zero-sum game, with new claimants being excluded from services or historical beneficiaries being displaced? While much has been written about competition between native and immigrant populations for jobs (Bean and Fossett, forthcoming; Enchautegui 1993; Muller and Espenshade 1985) and for political power (Cavanaugh, forthcoming; Pinderhughes, forthcoming) less attention has been paid to competition for public services.

Third, where they are being served, what barriers to access do they confront?

Another way to state these issues, then, might be:

- What claims do immigrant and LEP students have to Chapter 1 resources, and to what extent have they exercised those claims or rights?
- What social costs flow from the exercise of those rights and who bears them?
- What social benefits flow from different ways of satisfying the claims of LEP students to Chapter 1 resources?

At the time of this writing, deliberations were proceeding on the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary

Education Act and of Chapter 1 (U.S. Congress 1993). Debate over the reauthorization is likely to address a number of the specific issues that we hope to inform. These issues include:

- Whether to remove the Chapter 1 requirement that schools distinguish between children's needs stemming from educational deprivation and from limited English proficiency, which may act to deter LEP students' participation in Chapter 1 in some and perhaps many places;
- Whether the Chapter 1 funding formula should concentrate funding more heavily in schools that enroll large numbers of disadvantaged children as a strategy for serving more LEP children;
- Whether the law should encourage broader adoption of schoolwide programs (versus programs that emphasize providing remedial services to individual students) and the implications of this shift for monitoring the services provided to and the performance of LEP students; and
- Whether the formula for providing Chapter 1 funding to the states should be adjusted more frequently in order to better account for population changes attributable to international and internal migration. (Commission on Chapter 1, 1992)

One of our principal interests is in the confluence of limited English proficiency and poverty. Given the shockingly high school dropout rates of language-minority students and the high correlation between language proficiency and earnings (Kossoudji 1988; Sorensen and Enchautegui 1992), the social stake in addressing the needs of limited-English-proficient students as early and as effectively as possible should be self-evident.

In a sense, then, our interests go beyond the Chapter 1 program itself. That is, we believe that the story of LEP

student participation in Chapter 1 offers some general lessons on the responsiveness of urban schools to newcomers, and more broadly, on the accessibility of "mainstream" (versus targeted) public services to immigrants.

The last great wave of immigration to the United States during the first decades of the twentieth century contributed to the introduction of major reforms in the nation's schools. The challenge of educating a linguistically and culturally diverse population led to, among other things, the creation of the common school (i.e., a secular, state-administered school at which attendance was compulsory), the development of ability testing for placement, and the practice of grouping by ability (McDonnell and Hill 1993). These steps represented an effort on the part of the schools to come to grips with the changing demographic reality that confronted them. This examination of participation in Chapter 1 suggests that while adjustments are being made by school districts, no comparably broad, systematic reconfiguration of the American school system appears to be taking place in response to current high levels of immigration (Hill and McDonnell 1992).

Notes, chapter 1

1. Pt. A of Chapter 1 of Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended by the August F. Hawkins–Robert T. Stafford, Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988, Pub. L. No. 100-297.

2. LEP children have difficulty reading, writing, speaking, and understanding English, a definition drawn from the Bilingual Education Act of 1978. Limited English proficiency is not a measure of a person's proficiency in his or her native language (Macias, forthcoming).

Chapter Two

STUDY APPROACH

In this report, we take two related approaches to examining the participation of LEP children in the Chapter 1 program. First, as detailed in chapter five, we review national data on trends within the child population theoretically eligible to participate in Chapter 1. These include data on the number of poor children, their spatial concentration, and their academic achievement. We then review national participation data, to determine the degree to which LEP children are represented within the Chapter 1 program.

We then go beyond these national data to examine the participation of LEP students in Chapter 1, using case studies conducted in four urban school districts in the fall of 1992. The case study approach was driven, in large part, by a review of available national education data which revealed that the central questions we wanted to address could not be fully answered using the national- or even state-level data that were available to us during the study period.

In carrying out the study, we decided to build on Urban Institute research on immigrant policy that was ongoing in four cities: Boston, Houston, Oakland, and Washington, D.C. Each was characterized by high, recent growth in immigration, a large African-American student population, and significant local African-American political representation and power. As a result, we hypothesized that these sites would

clearly portray the play of ethnic tensions—to the extent that they exist—around the issue of the distribution of Chapter 1 resources.

Even though we focused rather narrowly on four urban school districts, we were still forced to take an opportunistic approach to data collection and analysis. We relied heavily on administrative records (such as applications to the state or federal government for Chapter 1 funds), data supplied to us by the school districts, and the invaluable mass of documents that have accompanied legal action over these issues in two of the sites (Oakland and Boston). We found that school districts rarely systematically kept data on the number of LEP students receiving Chapter 1 services. In this regard our recent data are probably more reliable than the historical data needed to portray trends over time.

The data analysis was supplemented by in-person and telephone interviews with Chapter 1 staff and administrators, the staff and administrators of district bilingual and multilingual departments, principals in selected Chapter 1 schools, community activists, and public interest lawyers.

This exploratory study has a number of limits. One is definitional. To some degree, the study is premised on a high presumed correlation between LEP students and students who are foreign-born or immigrants. There are, of course, problems with using limited-English-proficient as a proxy for immigrants; many Puerto Ricans—who are not immigrants—are LEP, as are some native-born students, while many immigrants from the Caribbean, Canada, and Europe are English speaking. Further, the definition of LEP varies by state, district, period, and assessment method (Council of Chief State School Officers 1991). In addition, the collection of data on LEP participation in Chapter 1 is in its infancy. For the school year 1988-89, only 20 states and the District of Columbia reported the number of LEP students served by Chapter 1. In the following year, all but three states did so (Westat 1991, 1992). We have made no effort to normalize definitions and have largely taken the school district data that we

have been provided on faith. However, the extremes represented by the four school districts we examined—they served either most or just a few LEP students—reduced, to some extent, the possible analytic problems.

The study is also limited in that it seeks only to answer several basic threshold questions that bear on the access of LEP children to Chapter 1 services. In so doing, the study raises, but does not answer, a series of more difficult and perhaps more important questions that bear on the quality of the instruction received and its impact on the academic performance of LEP and non-LEP children. Indeed, given the level of variation among schools, much less among districts, it is difficult to determine what "being served" by Chapter 1 really means across differing schools and districts.

Chapter Three

IMMIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Two broad trends in federal policy set the stage for examining the issue of LEP participation in Chapter 1. The first is the generally inclusive *immigration* policies that the United States has had in place for the past 25 years and, most notably, the past decade. The second is the hands-off, laissez faire *immigrant* policies of the country—reflected in recent years by reductions in federal support for programs that have been largely or exclusively targeted to immigrants, such as the refugee resettlement program or bilingual education.[1] U.S. immigration policy has tended to increase the challenges faced by the nation's schools and other public institutions, while our immigrant policies have provided them with little fiscal flexibility to respond. It is unclear that such a hands-off approach makes sense given the numbers of new immigrants, the fact that most are here with our consent, and the strong public interest in integrating them into the social and economic mainstream.

Federal Immigration Policy

If one looks across the three main kinds of permanent immigration to the United States—legal, humanitarian, and illegal—one sees:

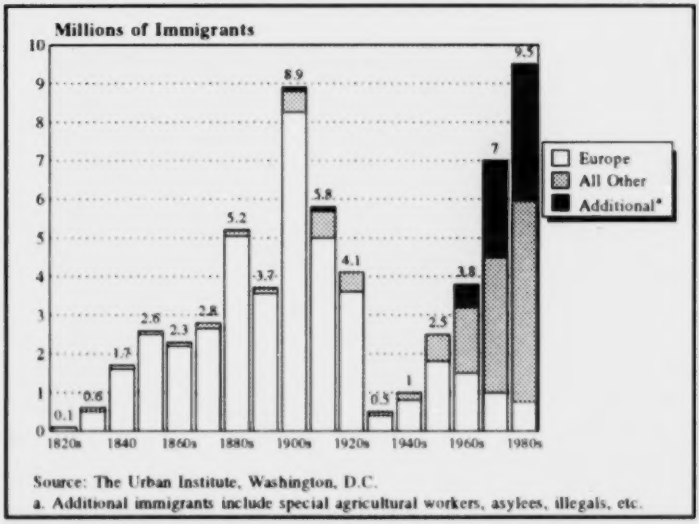
- More than a doubling of *legal* admissions from 300,000 per year in the 1960s to 675,000 in the 1990s;
- A doubling in *humanitarian* admissions (i.e., refugees and asylees) from 1985 through the early 1990s; and
- No meaningful change in the rate of *illegal* immigration from the period preceding enactment of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) to the present (1993). The Urban Institute estimates that illegal immigration contributes about 200,000 persons a year to the U.S. population.

At the same time, approximately 3 million formerly illegal immigrants—or roughly 1 percent of the total U.S. population—obtained legal status under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and the Immigration Act of 1990.

These trends have resulted in a total of 9.5 million immigrants entering the United States in the 1980s, nearly 1 million more than entered in the last great wave of immigration during the first decade of the century (figure 3.1). And since the early part of the century the share of immigrants coming from Europe and Canada has decreased while the share from other regions, namely Asia and Latin America, has increased.

Immigrants now account for 35 percent of the net annual population increase in the United States; immigrants and their children account for more than 50 percent. Moreover, as figure 3.2 indicates, the number of first- and second-generation immigrants ages 5 to 14 (those who are foreign-born and those born here of immigrant parents) will almost double in the next 20 years and will account for more than half of the increase in that population cohort (Edmonston and Passel, forthcoming).

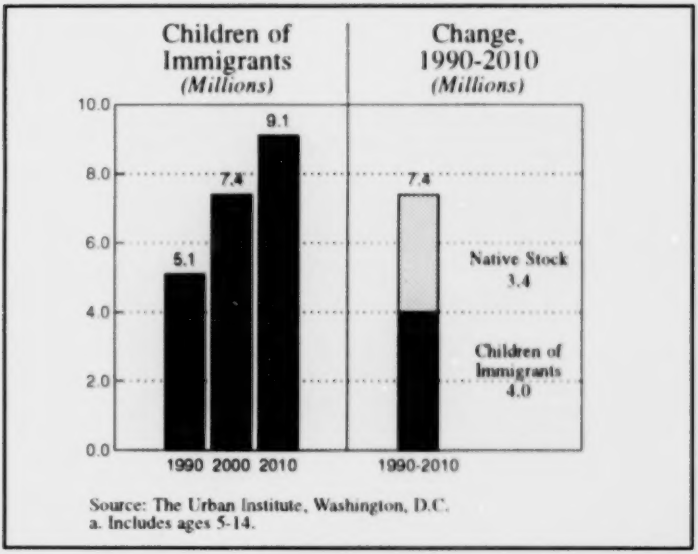
FIGURE 3.1 ***Immigration to the United States by Decade: 1821-30 through 1981-90***



Source: The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.
a. Additional immigrants include special agricultural workers, asylees, illegals, etc.

The force of these trends has been magnified by several features of recent immigration flows. First, recent immigration has been highly concentrated in a few states and cities. Lorraine McDonnell and Paul Hill (1993) of the RAND Corporation report that 78 percent of recent immigrant children are educated in only five states. Second, the trends have been intensified by the relative rapidity of the influx of immigrants and the adjustments that this rapidity, in turn, requires. Almost 60 percent of the foreign-born population of the United States entered from 1980 to 1990. Finally, the diversity of recent immigrants complicates efforts to provide education or other public services. During the 1960s only six countries accounted for more than 100,000 immigrants to the United States. During the 1980s 15 countries accounted for at least that many. For the D.C. public school system, this increased diversity has translated into 127 different languages spoken in the schools.

FIGURE 3.2 ***School-Age Population[a] Changes***



Source: The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.
a. Includes ages 5-14.

This new immigration has led, not surprisingly, to a rapid increase in the nation's cities in the number of persons who (a) speak a language other than English at home (often referred to as language-minority persons) and (b) reported in the 1990 Census that they had difficulty speaking English (who can be referred to as limited-English-proficient).[2] According to the 1990 Census 32 million U.S. residents speak a language other than English in their homes. Language-minority status is not, of course, the same as having limited English proficiency, which is an issue of greater public interest because language ability correlates so highly with economic mobility (Kossoudji 1988; Sorensen and Enchautegui 1992).

Thus, large numbers of persons with limited English now live in the nation's cities (table 3.1). Fully one-half of Miami's population, nearly one-third of Los Angeles's resi-

TABLE 3.1 ***Language Characteristics for Selected Cities: 1990***

City	Population 5 Years and Over	Speak Language Other Than English		Speak English Not "Very Well"[a]	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Miami	333,063	244,044	73.27	165,065	49.56
Los Angeles	3,206,402	1,600,187	49.91	947,400	29.55
San Antonio	857,257	405,514	47.30	166,290	19.40
San Francisco	688,689	292,093	42.41	162,167	23.55
New York	6,820,456	2,793,773	40.96	1,361,746	19.97
Houston	1,495,759	458,698	30.67	229,979	15.38
Chicago	2,568,732	748,022	29.12	373,265	14.53
Oakland	342,566	93,494	27.29	54,146	15.81
Boston	538,511	137,755	25.58	69,590	12.92
Dallas	926,525	205,448	22.17	103,232	11.14
Washington, D.C.	570,284	71,348	12.51	29,128	5.11

Sources: U.S. Census 1990; The Urban Institute.
a. Includes those who speak English "well," "not well," and "not at all."

dents, and one-fifth of New York's residents reported in the 1990 Census that they did not speak English "very well."

As a result of these trends, rising numbers of school-age children are now judged to be LEP. Between 1986 and 1991 alone, the share of LEP students rose 52 percent, from 1.5 to 2.3 million, while the overall student population of the nation's schools increased by only 4.1 percent (table 3.2).[3] These numbers are more striking in those states and jurisdictions that have experienced high levels of immigration. In California, for example, the LEP student population rose 74 percent during the decade.

TABLE 3.2 ***Estimated Number of Limited-English-Proficient Students and Total School Enrollment in the United States: 1985-91***

School Year	Total Enrollment	% Change 1985-90	# LEP	% Change 1985-90	% LEP
1985-86	39,422,051		1,491,304		3.8
1986-87	39,753,172		1,545,553		3.9
1987-88	40,007,946		1,622,879		4.1
1988-89	40,188,690		1,834,499		4.6
1989-90	40,562,372		1,981,112		4.9
1990-91	41,026,499	4.1	2,263,682	51.8	5.5

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1991; Roger E. W-B Olsen, *How Many Are There? Enrollment Statistics of Limited English Proficient Students in the United States*; U.S. Department of Education, *The Condition of Bilingual Education in the Nation: A Report to the Congress and the President*, 1992.

Trends in Federal Spending on Targeted Immigrant Programs

There has been a striking disjunction between the federal government's authorization of increased immigration and the sharp decline that has taken place in recent years in targeted federal spending on what we term immigrant policy. As table 3.3 indicates, after adjusting for inflation, there was a 48 percent reduction in federal expenditures for bilingual education during the 1980s—despite a 50 percent rise in the size of the LEP student population. More important, though, total Title VII spending on bilingual education remains quite low, now, at less than $200 million per year.

Plainly, this is one area of policy where the federal government relies more heavily on its power to make and enforce civil-rights laws than on its spending powers.[4]

TABLE 3.3 ***Title VII Bilingual-Education Funding: 1980-93***

Fiscal Year	$ Appropriation (in Thousands)	% Change from FY 1980	% Change from FY 1980, Adjusted for Inflation	$ Budget Request (in Thousands)
1980	166,963	—	—	173,600
1981	157,467	–5.7	–13.7	192,000
1982	134,372	–19.5	–32.4	139,970
1983	134,154	–19.7	–37.0	94,534
1984	135,529	–18.8	–39.9	92,034
1985	139,128	–16.7	–42.0	139,245
1986	133,284	–20.2	–46.5	139,265
1987	143,095	–14.3	–45.3	142,951
1988	146,573	–12.2	–46.7	143,095
1989	151,946	–9.0	–47.4	156,573
1990	158,530	–5.1	–47.8	157,113
1991	168,737	1.1	–46.7	175,393
1992	195,407	17.0	–31.3	171,512
1993	196,465	17.7	—	203,645

Source: Congressional Research Service.

At the same time there has been a reduction in the other, smaller targeted federal education programs for immigrant children. These include the Emergency Immigrant Education Act, which provides less than $30 million a year to communities that have experienced large influxes of immigrants, and the education-oriented Transition Program for Refugee Children, which has been quietly defunded in recent years. (It should be noted, though, that most funding for education programs comes from state and local governments and not the federal government.) Moreover, the reductions in federal spending on educating immigrants and other LEP students have taken place in the context of sharply reduced spending

on refugees[5] and the temporary and perhaps permanent rescission of almost $1 billion in assistance grants for the states to help them offset the public costs associated with IRCA's legalization program.[6]

But while there has been a steep reduction in federal spending on targeted immigrant programs, Chapter 1 spending has been slowly expanding in recent years, with real (i.e., after inflation) gains made in 9 of the last 10 years and with the program growing by more than 37 percent in inflation-adjusted terms since 1988. Indeed, President Bill Clinton's *A Vision of Change for America* (Executive Office 1993) contains $750 million in budget increases for Chapter 1. Even if the Clinton proposals are not enacted, spending on Chapter 1 will remain roughly 35 times greater than federal spending on bilingual education.[7] These trends can only serve to increase the interest of immigrant advocates, educators, and politicians in the uses to which Chapter 1 resources are put and in the degree to which they meet the needs of the rapidly rising immigrant population in urban schools.

These trends also suggest the underlying logic for ensuring that LEP children are served by programs like Chapter 1. This logic derives from considerations of both equity and efficiency. Two rather different types of equity considerations pertain here. The first represents issues of intergovernmental equity (which can be classified as vertical-equity concerns); the second reflects the degree to which similarly situated children, one group of whom is LEP and the other of whom is not, are treated dissimilarly in the distribution of education resources (which can be thought of as horizontal-equity concerns.)

In terms of vertical equity, it can be argued that the federal government bears a heightened interest in the integration of newcomers because of the gatekeeper role that it plays in immigration policy, determining as it does both the numbers and the characteristics of newcomers. That federal interest is further heightened by the imposition—largely by the courts—of federal mandates that require affirmative steps to deal with the educational needs of LEP children (such as the provision

of English as a second language and access to the curriculum) and by the concentration of the newcomers in a few states and cities.[8] Each of these factors suggests that the federal government should, at the very minimum, give state and local governments the discretion they need to apply existing federal grants to newcomer populations.

The horizontal-equity concerns raised by Chapter 1 reflect the fact that many LEP children resemble the population for which the Chapter 1 program was designed; that is, they are children who are poor, live in concentrated poverty, and achieve below grade level. Thus, it is inequitable to exclude them from services and resources that are available to their non-LEP counterparts.

Broad considerations of efficiency are also significant here. These range from reducing the high school dropout rates that persist among Hispanics to the need to ensure that newcomers and their children become educated members of the labor force. While it might be argued that efficiency concerns dictate a reduced level of immigration and, theoretically, higher levels of expenditure on natives, that is a separate issue. The population discussed in this report is predominantly comprised of persons residing in the United States with the consent of the government and who are likely to remain. This means, at a minimum, that a refusal to extend services to them is unlikely to result in efficiency gains.

Notes, chapter 3

1. Immigration policy determines who comes to the United States and in what numbers. Immigrant policy can be thought of as those policies that influence the social and economic integration of newcomers after arrival.

2. Respondents to the 1990 Census were asked whether they spoke a language other than English at home. Respondents who answered yes were then asked whether they spoke English "very well," "well," "not very well," or "not at all." Respondents who answered that they spoke English less than "very well" are considered to have difficulty

with English or, for the purposes of this study, to be limited-English-proficient (Macias, forthcoming).

3. Because the collection of data on the number of limited-English-proficient students improved during this period, part of the increase may be due to better identification and collection procedures.

4. See, generally, Pedalino Porter (1990) for a thorough and tart critique of bilingual education in the nation's and, specifically, Massachusetts's schools.

5. Federal spending has fallen from roughly $7,000 per refugee in 1986 to $1,500 in 1993 (Vialet 1992).

6. These funds were made available under what is known as the State Legalization Impact Assistance Grant Program, authorized under IRCA.

7. One reason for recent increases in Chapter 1 spending is the program's perceived cost-effectiveness. According to one congressional committee, Chapter 1 and other compensatory education programs return $4.90 for every dollar spent (U.S. Congress 1990).

8. The two most important court decisions in this area are *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), which required that states provide undocumented immigrant children with a free public education, and *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974), which required that school districts provide educational services that meet the specific linguistic needs of language-minority students. For a more thorough discussion of the rights of immigrants and their translation into intergovernmental mandates, see Fix and Zimmermann (forthcoming).

Chapter Four

A SKETCH OF CHAPTER 1

A number of features of Chapter 1 are especially pertinent to serving limited-English-proficient children. To begin, it should be stressed that the purpose of Chapter 1 has been to overcome poor children's educational disadvantage by providing them with *supplemental* remedial services. Over the past 25 years, this has usually meant removing students from the regular classroom to provide them with "pullout" remedial instruction (Slavin 1991).

The supplemental character of Chapter 1 is important to LEP children and is often misunderstood. It means that remedial instruction offered by Chapter 1 should be available to students who are taught in bilingual, English as a second language (ESL), or sheltered English classes as well as to students taught in regular English-language classes. Put differently, the receipt of bilingual or ESL instruction delivered as a child's basic education does not make him or her ineligible for Chapter 1 services. In some districts, though, it is mistakenly believed that bilingual or ESL instruction is a substitute for Chapter 1.

This misunderstanding of the complementarity of these programs of instruction owes in part to historical practices in many urban school districts—practices that led to the racial and ethnic identification of certain programs in terms of their administrators, teachers, and students. As one high-level

school administrator told us: "Bilingual education and the Emergency Immigrant Education Act were for the browns, Chapter 1 was for the blacks, and the magnet programs and special education were for the whites."

The provision of services to LEP children within Chapter 1 has been restricted in several ways, at least two of which are attributable to the law itself. In the first instance the law has been read to bar the inclusion of LEP children within Chapter 1. The relevant provision of the law states:

> Children receiving services to overcome . . . limited English proficiency shall also be eligible to receive services under this part, if they have needs stemming from deprivation *and not related solely to . . . limited English proficiency* (sec. 1014(d)(1); emphasis added).

In practice, disentangling the origins of poor academic performance from limited English proficiency is quite difficult. This owes in part to the limited availability of, and lack of uniformity among, native-language assessment tools. Indeed, the Commission on Chapter 1 (1992) along with the Stanford Working Group (1993) have recently called for the elimination of this constraint.

The second way in which Chapter 1 has been constrained relates to the type of services that can be provided to LEP students under the law. Our fieldwork suggests that some districts' officials believe that they are barred from providing remedial instruction in the native language or ESL to LEP children under Chapter 1. The source of this belief is a provision in the law intended to ensure that school districts do not use their Chapter 1 funds to supplant state and local expenditures required to provide language services to LEP children that meet federal or state standards.[1] The relevant provision in the law states:

> Funds under this part may not be used to provide services that are otherwise required by law to be made available to such children (sec. 1014(d)(1)).

The net effect of these constraints has been, on occasion, to deter the delivery of meaningful educational services to LEP children under Chapter 1.

Concentration and Distributional Issues

There has always been a tension within Chapter 1 regarding how concentrated spending should be on high-poverty schools and districts. In fact, Chapter 1 funds are very widely distributed, and, as the U.S. Department of Education (1992, 144) itself states, the program is "only modestly focused on the poorest school districts." Indeed, Chapter 1 funds are received by 90 percent of all school districts in the United States (U.S. Department of Education 1992, 138); 58 percent of students receiving Chapter 1 services are not themselves from poor families; and 42 percent of Catholic schools receive Chapter 1 funds (156). The issue of concentration is central to Chapter 1's reauthorization this year (1993) and to the provision of services to the nation's highly urbanized immigrant population.

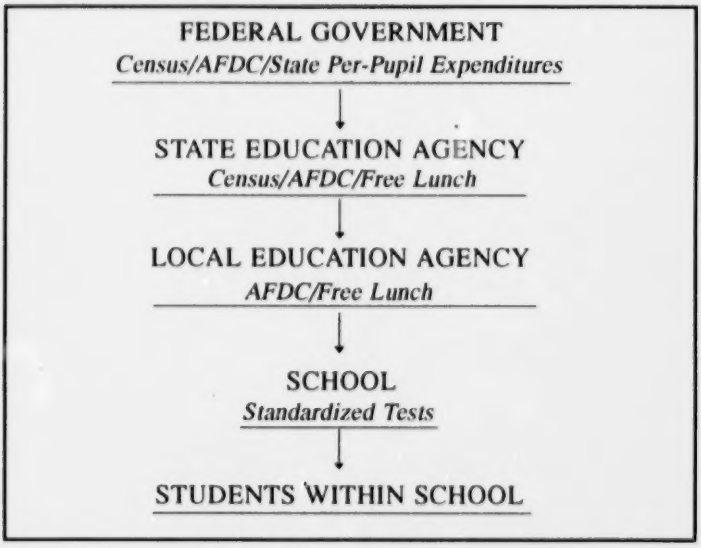
How Chapter 1 dollars make their way from Congress through the intergovernmental system to the classroom also influences whether LEP students are served. We trace below how Chapter 1 funds descend (a) from the federal level to the states; (b) from the states to local education agencies (LEAs), and (c) from LEAs to schools and then to students.

Federal-to-State Allocations

The federal government's grants to states are based on a formula that heavily weights child poverty as recorded by the decennial Census (figure 4.1). As a result, state funding levels are not sensitive to immigration that occurs during the 10 years between censuses.[2] Thus, to the extent that poor LEP children are included in the decennial Census, the distribution of Chapter 1 funds takes account of their presence. But to the

extent that children arrive after the Census, their presence is not fully taken into account. The linking of state grants under Chapter 1 to Census-based child poverty rates means that with the release of the 1990 Census substantial shifts in Chapter 1 funds will take place from the East to the West and Southwest, reflecting high levels of immigration in those regions.

FIGURE 4.1 ***Primary Data Sources for the Distribution of Chapter 1 Funds***



Efforts to minimize the near-term impact of revenue losses to eastern and midwestern cities that are losing both their overall, and, to a lesser degree, their disadvantaged populations have already been introduced by the Clinton administration. The president's *A Vision of Change for America* would set aside $250 million to mitigate the effects of Census-driven revenue shifts on the Frost Belt and Rust Belt states.[3]

Allocations from States to Local Education Agencies

States distribute Chapter 1 funds to school districts based on the number of poor students within each district as determined by the Census or by the number of participants in AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) or in the free- or reduced-lunch program. Targeting within states, then, can use measures that are more current than the decennial census, leading to shifts among districts in the allocation of resources to areas with increasing poverty populations. Hence, high-immigration areas within states may draw a rising share of state Chapter 1 funds. If they do, it is at the expense of lower-immigration areas. To the extent that states rely on AFDC data, allocations may not fully reflect the presence of immigrant LEP children, since most recent immigrants are effectively barred from using federal cash transfer programs such as AFDC.[4] Free-lunch data provide better, but still imperfect, counts of immigrant and LEP children because of broadly held reluctance on the part of some ethnic groups to use any public benefits (Richardson 1992, 23, 25). In Houston, for example, the data indicate that while 12 percent of Asian children are below poverty, only 2 percent participate in the free or reduced-price lunch program.

Allocations from Local Education Agencies to Schools and Students

Local Education Agencies determine which schools are eligible for Chapter 1 funds by ranking them on the basis of poverty levels within their attendance areas—typically using free or reduced-price lunch or AFDC data. The level of funding provided to eligible schools is then based, in part, on the number of low achievers at a particular school. Low-achieving children are usually identified on the basis of their performance on state or national norm-referenced tests such as the California Test of Basic Skills. Our own fieldwork, as well as the results of recent studies by Westat (Strang and

Carlson 1991), indicates that LEP children are often not given these tests, which are in English. As a result, LEP children are de facto made ineligible for Chapter 1 services.

Evolution of Chapter 1 as a Legally Enforceable Right

As we stated above, one question that animates this report is the degree to which Chapter 1 is no longer just a basic-skills statute but provides "a legally enforceable right to a quality education for low-income kids" (Harvard Education Letter 1991).

In this regard the exclusion of LEP children from Chapter 1 services raises the issue of student rights to Chapter 1 services, an issue that has been squarely presented in two recent cases. One was brought against Florida's Department of Education and the other against the Boston Public Schools.[5] The cases were initiated by parents of LEP students who complained that they were receiving a disproportionately small share of total Chapter 1 resources—despite the students' demonstrable educational disadvantages and their families' low incomes.

The exclusionary practices challenged in these two suits have been more broadly documented by two recent studies of Chapter 1. Twelve of 31 state education agencies responding to a survey by the Council of Chief State School Officers reported that "no Chapter 1 services at all are provided to Chapter 1-eligible LEP students" in their states (Council of Chief State School Officers 1991). At the same time another research project employing a case study approach found that the procedures used to select LEP children for Chapter 1 services were generally inadequate, with the result that LEP students were underrepresented in a significant number of the districts examined (Strang and Carlson 1991).

Current proposals to reform Chapter 1 have called for an elimination of the distinction the law now makes between the eligibility of LEP and non-LEP students (Commission on Chapter 1, 1992, 45). Eliminating this distinction would strengthen the claims of LEP students suing under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to challenge their exclusion from Chapter 1. Hence, proceedings could be brought by LEP children or their parents in federal court or by the U.S. Department of Education to require their inclusion in Chapter 1.

The Changing Character of the Chapter 1 Program and Expansion of Schoolwide Programs

Changes in the basic character of Chapter 1 are also influencing the extent to which limited-English-proficient children are served and how they are served. As Professor Robert Slavin (1991, 587), an expert on educating the disadvantaged, has written:

> For more than 25 years, Title I and Chapter 1 have primarily provided remedial services to children who are falling behind in basic skills by removing them from their regular classes for separate instruction. . . . Chapter 1 is still a remedial program serving individual children.

Analysts have found that Chapter 1 programs that adopt this approach typically provide 24 to 30 minutes of instruction a day, five days a week.

The law's 1988 reauthorization introduced a number of reforms that were intended to move Chapter 1 beyond this traditional paradigm. From the perspective of LEP children, perhaps the most important of such reforms has been new, liberalized rules permitting schools with 75 percent or more poor students to administer schoolwide programs. These allow schools to use their Chapter 1 funds more flexibly—to

improve the overall instructional program within the school, and hence to serve all children, not just those deemed eligible for Chapter 1 by dint of test results.[6] From Congress' perspective, the purpose of schoolwide programs has been to spur these high-poverty schools to undertake fundamental educational change. This and other reforms, such as site-based management, reduce schools' emphasis on targeting and cost accountability and may make it easier to serve—and to credibly claim to have served—LEP students. Most principals who have introduced schoolwide projects report that they have not adopted new instructional or teacher-training strategies (U.S. Department of Education 1993). Instead, they have often taken advantage of Chapter 1 resources to reduce class size, a reform that may or may not meet the needs of LEP children (U.S. Department of Education 1993). Whether Chapter 1 schoolwide programs have improved the multicultural services received by LEP children or not, they have clearly been used to increase LEP enrollment in Chapter 1.

Notes, chapter 4

1. In fact, Congress appeared to have been quite aware of the possible impact of these constraints on including LEP children in Chapter 1 programs when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was reauthorized in 1988. While it did not rescind the provision, the Senate report that accompanied the amending legislation stated:

> The bill also emphasizes that Chapter 1 funds may not be used for handicapped or limited-English-proficient services that are otherwise required by law. The language is intended to clarify the fact that Chapter 1 funds may not be used to supplant funds that are otherwise required to be spent. However, *it is by no means the intent of the Committee to exclude . . . limited-English-proficient students from receiving Chapter 1 services due to the fact that their educational deprivation may stem from that limited English proficiency*. Likewise the Committee is concerned that a school district not be excessively burdened to prove that a child with limited English proficiency is educationally deprived and deserving of Chapter 1 services (U.S. Congress 1987, 110-11; emphasis added).

2. The shift in funding that owes to the Census will be slowed, though, by, among other things, "hold harmless" provisions that mandate that each local education agency receive no less than 85 percent of the amount it received in the previous year (34 C.F.R. sec. 200.23 (b)(1)(iii)).

3. Western states that have seen a rise in their child poverty populations during the past decade may contest the provision of such funds to eastern states, whose poverty populations have declined. It could be argued that such a hold-harmless provision, rather than promoting equity, represents a windfall to those states with declining poverty populations that have already been fully compensated over the past decade (remarks of Rep. Xavier Becerra [D-Calif.], U.S. Congress 1993).

4. Although the law is rarely invoked, legal immigrants may be deported if they become a "public charge," or a burden on the government, within five years after their arrival (8 U.S.C. sec. 1182(a)(15)). In addition, for three years after entry, the income of an immigrant's sponsor (usually a family member) is "deemed" to be income of the immigrant, making it difficult to qualify for means-tested public assistance programs (Fix and Zimmermann, forthcoming).

5. *League of United Latin American Citizens et al. v. Florida Board of Education et al.*, No. 90-1913 (S.D. Fla. August 1990); *Boston Master Parents Advisory Council et al. v. Boston Public Schools et al.*, No. 91-11725-Z (D. Mass. 1991).

6. Although schoolwide services were permitted before 1988, few districts took advantage of the option because they were required to match federal funds used to support the programs. The 1988 act removed the matching requirements (Heubert 1991).

Chapter Five

NATIONAL TRENDS IN RECEIPT OF CHAPTER 1 SERVICES

Potential Outcomes

When we began this study, we posited that the entry of large numbers of immigrants into urban schools could lead to five possible outcomes regarding the distribution of Chapter 1 funds. They are:

1. The exclusion of LEP or immigrant children from Chapter 1 services;

2 The displacement of established beneficiaries by immigrants;

3. Provision of a *reduced* level of Chapter 1 services to an expanded student population composed of both established and immigrant/LEP children;

4. Replacement of the native poor by immigrant/LEP children as they fill slots left vacant by natives moving out of the central city; and

5. Expansion of Chapter 1 to serve both newcomer children and established beneficiaries.

It can be argued, though, that these scenarios represent an incomplete conceptualization of possible outcomes. They are incomplete because they fail to take into account the level of services and benefits that natives would have received in the absence of immigration. If no new immigration had occurred, would per-pupil expenditures in Chapter 1 have been as sharply higher as they have been? Would Congress have increased funding for Chapter 1 over the past 10 years as much as it has? While the answers to these questions are highly speculative, they must be acknowledged in any thorough examination of the issue of competition for public resources.

We took two approaches to examining the participation of LEP students in Chapter 1. The first was to review national child poverty and achievement participation data. The second was to take a case study approach, relying more heavily on interviews and an administrative data available at the district level. We turn first to our exploration of national data; the case studies follow.

Who Is Eligible for Chapter 1?

In the paragraphs below, we report trends in child poverty, concentration of poverty, and subject matter proficiency, trends that should influence the level and distribution of Chapter 1 expenditures. Data constraints have compelled us to report a number of these trends from the vantage point of ethnicity and race, rather than language proficiency. While ethnicity is not an especially good proxy for immigrant status or language capacity, a significant portion of the Asian and Hispanic populations in this country are foreign-born or limited-English-proficient. In 1990, 20 percent of the Hispanic population under age 19 was foreign-born. Also, a large share (more than 75 percent) of the LEP population is com-

posed of Hispanics and Asians: 59.4 percent of the total LEP population speaks Spanish, and 17.3 percent of the total LEP population speaks an Asian or Pacific Islands language.

Analyzing national trends in poverty and program participation makes clear in broad terms how Chapter 1's beneficiary populations are changing, with Hispanic participation rising significantly, black participation rising modestly, and white participation declining. But these data do not give a clear picture of the degree to which LEP (versus Hispanic) populations have been served by Chapter 1. Because national data, which are collected from the states, are of questionable quality, we employed a case study approach to refine our understanding of LEP participation in Chapter 1 and its impacts.

Changes in Child Poverty

The principal focus of Chapter 1 is on counteracting the educational disadvantages that flow from poverty. Overall we find that with regard to *the growth, incidence, and number of children in poverty*:

- ❑ Child poverty is growing most rapidly among Asians and Hispanics;
- ❑ The incidence of poverty is highest among blacks, followed by Hispanics and then LEP students; and
- ❑ The absolute number of black children in poverty remains higher than the number of Hispanics and Asians.

As table 5.1 indicates, the number of Hispanic and Asian children in poverty exploded during the 1980s, rising by 70 and 123 percent, respectively. Indeed, the growth in Hispanic child poverty accounted for almost one-half of the total growth in the number of poor children during the decade.

TABLE 5.1 ***Children under 18 in Poverty by Race/ Ethnicity: 1979 and 1989***

Race/Ethnicity	1979	1989	% Change
Total Children in Poverty	10,377,000	12,590,000	21.3
# White in Poverty	6,193,000	7,599,000	22.7
Percent of Total	59.7	60.4	
# Black in Poverty	3,833,000	4,375,000	14.1
Percent of Total	36.9	34.7	
# Hispanic Origin[a] in Poverty	1,535,000	2,603,000	69.9
Percent of Total	14.8	20.7	
# Asian Origin in Poverty	165,000	368,000	123.0
Percent of Total	1.6	2.9	

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1991, 91-697, table 19; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* (P-60), No. 168, No. 181; Children's Defense Fund, *Child Poverty in America*, 1991.
a. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

An examination of poverty rates by race and ethnicity reveals that in 1990, 43.7 percent of all black children were poor, versus 36.2 percent of Hispanic and 14.8 percent of white children (Johnson et al. 1991, 7). The share of children in poverty rose for all groups during the 1980s. In 1990 the share of all LEP children who were poor was 35 percent, unchanged from 1980.

Educational disadvantage has been closely correlated to concentrated poverty, that is, to schools in which a large share of the student body is poor. As one analyst has written, "The general . . . educational problems and costs associated with educational disadvantage increase more than in proportion to the number of disadvantaged pupils to be served in a school or school system" (Barro 1991). Overall, with regard to the measures cited here for the *concentration of poverty*:

- ❑ Concentrated poverty seems to be growing only among Hispanics and Hispanic children;
- ❑ The absolute number of children in concentrated poverty remains higher among blacks; and
- ❑ LEP and language-minority children are far more concentrated in schools with high poverty rates than are native English speakers.

Taking a very broad measure of concentration—enrollment in the nation's large urban school districts—reveals striking rates of growth during the 1980s among both Hispanics (+45 percent) and Asians (+75 percent) (table 5.2). At the

TABLE 5.2 ***City School Enrollment by Race/ Ethnicity: 1980 and 1990***[a]

Race/Ethnicity	1980 (%)	1990 (%)	% Change
Black	44.3	42.1	–5.0
White	33.4	25.0	–25.0
Hispanic	18.4	26.5	+45.0
Asian	3.4	5.9	+75.1
Other	0.5	0.5	0

Sources: Council of the Great City Schools, *National Urban Education Goals: Baseline Indicators, 1990-91*, September 1992.
a. Includes the nation's 47 largest urban school districts.

same time, there has been a sharp drop (-25 percent) in the share of the large-city school population that is white and a modest decline (-5 percent) in the share that is black. Indeed, at the start of the 1980s non-Hispanic whites represented almost twice the share of the city school population that Hispanics did (33.4 versus 18.4 percent). But by the end of the decade, Hispanics had surpassed the non-Hispanic white population in big-city schools (26.5 versus 25 percent). Viewed broadly, then, Hispanics and, to a lesser extent, Asians replaced whites in central-city schools during the 1980s.

Other measures also shed light on the trend toward increased concentration of child poverty. Between 1976 and 1988 Hispanics witnessed a rise in the share of children living in high-poverty areas where 20 percent or more of the population was poor, while the share of black and white children in such areas declined (see table 5.3). Despite the fact that Hispanics alone experienced an increase in the share of

TABLE 5.3 ***Distribution of Child Population in Central Cities and in Poverty Areas: 1976 and 1988***

	% Distribution	
	1976	1988
All Children under 18		
In central cities	26.9	30.4
In poverty areas[a]	20.9	18.9
Poor kids in areas[b]	46.1	46.8
White Children		
In central cities	21.5	25.0
In poverty areas[a]	12.7	12.3
Poor kids in areas[b]	32.7	32.6
Black Children		
In central cities	56.9	56.3
In poverty areas[a]	54.0	52.7
Poor kids in areas[b]	70.7	71.1
Hispanic Children		
In central cities	46.8	53.9
In poverty areas[a]	33.9	40.6
Poor kids in areas[b]	51.3	57.5

Sources: Source: U.S. Congress, House Committee of Ways and Means, *1992 Green Book, Overview of Entitlement Programs*, table 65 (1171-72), 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., May 15, 1992.

a. Poverty areas are defined as those where 20 percent of the population was identified as being below the poverty level according to the last Census.

b. Percentage of poor children in each group who live in poverty areas.

children living in concentrated poverty, a larger overall share of black children lived in high-poverty areas in 1988 than did Hispanics (52.7 of all children living in high-poverty areas were black while 40.6 percent were Hispanic). These trends toward increasing concentration of Hispanic poverty are even more pronounced in our four case study sites.

Language-minority and LEP students are more likely to attend schools with high concentrations of poor students than are native-born English speakers. According to the U.S. Department of Education (1993, 21):

> About 22 percent of fourth-graders in high-poverty schools have limited English proficiency, compared with only 1 percent in low-poverty schools. Some 45 percent of low-achieving fourth-graders in high-poverty schools come from language-minority backgrounds.

Eleven percent of students in high-poverty neighborhoods participate in bilingual instruction, compared with less than 1 percent in low-poverty schools. Thus, to the extent that future Chapter 1 allocations target districts and schools with high concentrations of poverty, increasing numbers of LEP students should be served by Chapter 1.

Academic Achievement and Progress

Besides being poor and living in areas of concentrated poverty, another measure of eligibility for Chapter 1 services is academic achievement. Overall, with regard to measures of *academic achievement and progress* we find:

- Black nine-year-olds scored marginally lower on national proficiency tests but have shown greater gains over the course of the past two decades than have either Hispanics or whites; and

- ❑ At the same time, though, Hispanics continue to drop out of school at far higher rates than do blacks, whose dropout rates declined sharply through the 1980s.

Low achievement is typically gauged by below-average scores on nationally normed tests. Perhaps the most widely accepted national measure of academic competence is the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). As table 5.4 indicates, average scores achieved by white, black, and Hispanic nine-year-old children in reading and mathematics between 1975 and 1990 were uniformly mediocre. And while blacks and Hispanics have recorded larger gains than whites in both subjects over the past 20 years, blacks' basic skills remain marginally lower than those of Hispanics, whose scores, in turn, are somewhat lower than those of whites.

TABLE 5.4 ***Trends in Average Subject Matter Proficiency for Nine-Year-Old Children: 1973-90***[a]

Subject	1973-75	1980-82	1986-88	1990	% Change 1973-75-90
Reading					
White	217	221	218	217	0.0
Black	181	189	189	182	0.5
Hispanic	183	190	194	189	3.3
Mathematics					
White	225	224	227	235	4.4
Black	190	195	202	208	9.5
Hispanic	202	204	205	214	5.9

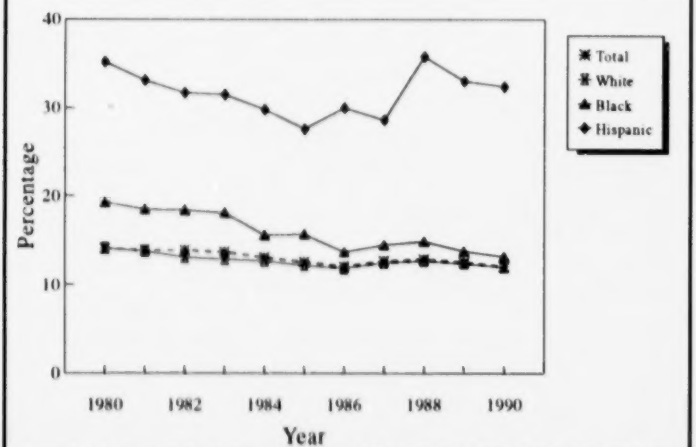
Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Trends in Academic Achievement* (report of the National Assessment of Education Progress), November 1991.

a. The NAEP measures reading and mathematics proficiency by identifying five fundamental skill levels and then assigning each a numerical value. The five levels and respective scores are: Rudimentary (150); Basic (200); Intermediate (250); Adept (300); and Advanced (350).[1]

We have less information on the educational progress of LEP students, as they usually remain untested because of their language skills (McDonnell and Hill 1993). Moreover, there is no national reporting and aggregation of results of the achievement tests given by school districts that measure achievement in languages other than English.

But the roughly comparable achievement levels reported by the NAEP mask sharp interethnic differences when it comes to dropping out of school (figure 5.1). The share of blacks ages 16–24 who were dropouts fell sharply during the 1980s (from 19.3 to 13.2 percent) and is now about the same as the share of whites (13.2 versus 12 percent). Hispanics, however, remain much more likely to be dropouts than do either whites or blacks (32.4 percent).

FIGURE 5.1 ***Student Dropouts Ages 16-24 by Race/Ethnicity***[a]



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "School Enrollment--Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, October (various years)," Current Population Reports (P-20); October 1990 Current Population Survey.

a. Figure represents the proportion of persons ages 16-24 who are no longer enrolled in school and have not completed high school. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

Trends in Chapter 1 Spending and Participation

But how have these trends in child poverty and achievement translated into spending and participation in Chapter 1?

When viewed in its entirety, real spending on Chapter 1 fell during the 1980s.[2] If one looks at spending and participation within Chapter 1 for the decade 1979-80 to 1989-90 (the last year for which we have a complete count of participants), the following trends become apparent (table 5.5). First, real spending over the decade fell slightly (-8.2 percent). At the same time, though, participation levels rose modestly (3.2 percent). As a result, funds per participant fell during the period by 11 percent. In short, a declining number of dollars were being distributed to an expanding number of children. But if one looks at changes in the program from the trough of funding in 1982-83 through 1989-90 (and not for the decade as a whole), one sees that spending increased 23 percent, participation rose 19 percent, and funds per participant increased 2 percent.

Rising appropriations, then, are being used to serve more students instead of providing more intensive services to recipients. One result is that Chapter 1 has become a declining share of total education expenditures for participants, falling from 21 to 17 percent. These trends toward favoring increased participation over more concentrated services were also found in the case study sites.

Rise in Hispanic and Asian Participation

Over the course of the past decade, the share of Hispanic and Asian students receiving Chapter 1 services grew rapidly, while black participation rose moderately and white participation fell (table 5.6).

TABLE 5.5 ***Chapter 1 Funding and Participation: 1979-80 to 1992-93***

Year	Appropriation (Inflation Adjusted)		Participation		Chapter 1 $/Participant Funding (1991-92 $)	(1991-92 $) Total Elementary/ Secondary $/Pupil
	Constant 1991-92 $ in Billions	Annual Growth (%)	Millions	Annual Growth (%)		
1979–80	4.729		5.162		916	3,718
1980–81	4.188	–11.4	5.076	–1.7	825	3,618
1981–82	3.735	–11.8	4.619	–9.0	809	3,708
1982–83	3.544	–5.1	4.448	–3.7	797	3,853
1983–84	3.693	4.2	4.573	2.8	808	3,992
1984–85	3.883	5.2	4.713	3.1	824	4,211
1985–86	4.049	4.3	4.740	0.6	854	4,419
1986–87	3.774	–6.8	4.733	–0.1	797	4,575
1987–88	4.090	8.4	4.951	4.6	826	4,685
1988–89	4.330	5.9	5.047	1.9	858	4,912
1989–90	4.342	0.3	5.328	5.6	814	
1990–91	4.902	12.9				
1991–92	5.558	13.4				
1992–93	5.944	6.9				

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, *National Assessment of the Chapter 1 Program: The Interim Report*, 1992; *A Summary of State Chapter 1 Participation and Achievement Information: 1989–90* (prepared for the U.S. Department of Education), 1992.

TABLE 5.6 ***Race/Ethnicity of Chapter 1 Participants: 1980-90***

Race/ Ethnicity	1979-80		1989-90		% Change
	#	%	#	%	
Total Participants[a]	4,359,711	100.0	4,992,998	100.0	14.5
White (Not Hispanic)	2,324,433	53.3	2,162,953	43.3	-6.9
Black (Not Hispanic)	1,371,304	31.5	1,445,326	28.9	5.4
Hispanic	490,289	11.2	1,140,542	22.8	132.6
Asian	82,396	1.9	159,270	3.2	93.3

Sources: Westat, Inc., *A Summary of State Chapter 1 Participation and Achievement Information: 1989-90* (prepared for the U.S. Department of Education), 1992; additional data from Westat, Inc.

Note: These figures do not include participants in Puerto Rico. Native Americans are included in the total but not in the racial/ethnic breakout.

a. The total number of participants reported by race and ethnicity differs slightly from the total number of participants reported by states.

A simple comparison of the share of all children who are poor by race and ethnicity and of Chapter 1 participation reveals that the two are strikingly symmetric (table 5.7). This balance is even more striking when one compares the racial and ethnic composition of children who are poor *and* low achieving with the composition of the Chapter 1 population. Only the Asian population appears to be overrepresented in Chapter 1 when using this comparison. Although a larger share of poor black and Hispanic children (61 percent and 47 percent, respectively) are low achieving than are whites (38 percent), a significantly larger share of all poor, low-achieving students are white because of their larger absolute number.

LEP participation in Chapter 1 has been examined by several national studies that have produced somewhat differ-

TABLE 5.7 ***Race/Ethnicity of Poor Children and of Chapter 1 Enrollees: 1989-90***

Race/ Ethnicity	% Of All Poor Children	% of All Poor, Low-Achieving Children	% of Chapter 1 Enrollees
White (Not Hispanic)	40.7	43.8	43
Black (Not Hispanic)	33.7	29.5	29
Hispanic	20.7	21.6	23
Asian	2.9	1.5	3
LEP	11.0		12

Sources: U.S. Census 1980, Current Population Survey 1989; Westat, Inc.; National Center for Education Statistics, National Educational Longitudinal Survey.

ing results.[3] A study by Development Associates found that in 1991, 35 percent of the nation's LEP students were in Chapter 1, accounting for 15 percent of the program's 5.5 million participants. Another study conducted by Abt Associates—the Prospects study—found that about 11 percent of Chapter 1 participants were LEP.[4]

A third study, conducted by Westat which found that 12 percent of Chapter 1 enrollees were LEP, confirms the fact that from a national vantage point LEP students are proportionally represented in Chapter 1. However, state data reveal great variation in the degree to which LEP students are served by the program at the state (and hence district) level. For example, in 1990-91 only about 10 percent of Florida's LEP population was served by Chapter 1, while more than half of California's was served (table 5.8). Closer examination of the data reveals that California's and Texas's LEP populations account for 82 percent of all LEP participants within Chapter 1, but only about 57 percent of all LEP students. In California LEP students make up 34 percent of the Chapter 1 population

TABLE 5.8 ***Chapter 1 Participants by Race/Ethnicity: School Year 1990-91***

	Mass.	D.C.	Calif.	Fla.	Ill.
Total Chapter 1 Participants	75,432	14,436	1,179,199	153,660	159,314
# Black (Not Hispanic)	11,075	13,765	160,615	75,601	74,809
% of total	14.7	95.4	13.6	49.2	47
# Hispanic	15,344	520	631,506	18,286	20,337
% of total	20.3	3.6	53.6	11.9	12.8
# Asian	3,742	35	114,974	1,383	1,141
% of total	4.9	.2	9.8	.9	.7
# White (Not Hispanic)	45,048	115	246,104	58,083	62,758
% of total	59.7	.8	20.8	37.8	39.4
# LEP Chapter 1 Participants	7,345	375	464,352	6,300	4,312
% of Chapter 1 Participants Total That Is LEP	9.7	2.6	39.3	4.1	2.7
% of Total LEP Students in Chapter 1	18.3	11.0	53.9	10.2	5.9

Sources: State performance reports to the Compensatory Education Program, U.S. Department of Education, *The Condition of Bilingual Education in the Nation: A Report to the Congress and the President*, 1992.

and in Texas they make up 21 percent. These two states' high LEP participation rates therefore drive up the national LEP participation rate.

In sum, national data indicate that LEP students are *not* underrepresented in Chapter 1. However, when we disaggregate these data by state and, as we shall see, by city, we find substantial variation from place to place in the level of LEP participation. This suggests a need to examine LEP participation in Chapter 1 at the district level—a subject to which we now turn.

Notes, chapter 5

1. In the area of reading, for example, these measures correspond to the following respective skills: Rudimentary (150): the ability to carry out simple, discrete reading tasks; Basic (200): the ability to understand specific or sequentially related information; Intermediate (250): the capability to search for basic information, interrelate ideas, and make generalizations; Adept (300): the ability to find, understand, summarize, and explain relatively complicated information; and Advanced (350): the ability to synthesize and learn from specialized reading materials. See, generally, National Council of La Raza, *Hispanic Education: A Statistical Portrait 1990*, 1990.

2. By 1992, though, losses in federal spending for Chapter 1 had been reversed, with expenditures over the 12-year period up 26 percent—or by a slightly higher rate than the percent rise in the total child poverty population in the United States during the 1980s (21.3 percent).

3. Chapter 1 enrollment figures are based on state participation data collected by Westat, Inc. Participants in Puerto Rico, who are all counted as Hispanic in the Westat data, are not included here. The poverty figures, which also do not include Puerto Rico, are based on 1989 Current Population Survey data. Because these data double-count Hispanics as black or white, we subtracted 95 percent of the Hispanic children who would be included in the white classification and 5 percent from the black to arrive at these estimates. We believe they are fairly accurate; however, the 95 percent estimate is probably a lower bound and the 5 percent an upper bound. The data on poor, low-achieving children are from the National Educational Longitudinal Survey (NELS) follow-up in 1990. These tenth-grade students

scored in the bottom quartile of the NELS math and reading tests and were in the bottom quartile in socioeconomic status, based on a composite measure made up of the parents' education level, occupation, and family income.

In addition, the percentage of poor children who are LEP is based on 1990 Census figures for children ages 5-17 who do not speak English very well. Because 1990 Census data on the share of LEP children in poverty were not available at the time this report was written, we based our estimate on 1980 Census data, which reports that 35 percent of LEP children were in poverty.

4. Both studies are described in U.S. Department of Education (1993).

Chapter Six

CHAPTER 1 SERVICES IN FOUR URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The portrait of a national program that seems to adjust almost automatically to demographic trends masks what appears to be substantial variability at the local level, as well as the degree to which the allocation of Chapter 1 resources represents contested political and institutional terrain.

Our exploration of Chapter 1 in Boston, Houston, Oakland, and Washington, D.C., suggests the following:

- In general, Hispanic and Asian poverty rates rose far more rapidly during the 1980s in these four cities than did either white or black poverty rates.
- Concentrated poverty among Hispanics exploded during the decade in each of the four sites. Still, the number of blacks in concentrated poverty was roughly twice that of Hispanics across the four cities.
- The LEP population in each city's school system either expanded substantially or, in the case of Houston, remained at an already high level.

- In these four cities Chapter 1 resources have been extended to limited-English-proficient populations where either legal or political pressure has been brought to bear. Where it has not, LEP enrollment has lagged.
- The inclination of policymakers to expand the number of Chapter 1 beneficiaries that was noted in the last section has meant that increased enrollment of Hispanics, Asians, and LEP students has not led to any apparent direct displacement of blacks in the four sites examined.
- However, where LEP students have been folded into Chapter 1, their inclusion has contributed, along with other factors, to a reduction in the per-pupil allocation of Chapter 1 dollars. The effects of new LEP entrants into Chapter 1 coincide with broad increases in the non-LEP Chapter 1 population. This expansion has been driven by a switch from an individual pullout approach to a schoolwide service delivery strategy, and by the entry of large numbers of non-LEP Hispanics and blacks into Chapter 1. The broad expansion in Chapter 1 recipient populations raises questions about what "being served" by the program actually means.

Rapid Growth in Immigrant and LEP Populations

Despite the fact that only one of the four cities examined is usually associated with large-scale immigration (Houston), each had comparatively high levels of immigration over the past decade (table 6.1). Indeed, by 1990, a higher share of both Boston's and Oakland's populations was foreign-born than was Houston's. And in each of the four cities a majority

TABLE 6.1 ***Foreign-Born Population and Recent Immigration***

City	Size 1990 Foreign-Born Population	% Total 1990 City Population	Entered between 1980 and 1990	% Foreign-Born Entering 1980-90
Washington, D.C.	58,887	9.7	33,892	57.6
Boston	114,597	20.0	63,365	55.3
Oakland	73,524	19.8	43,371	58.9
Houston	290,374	17.8	168,474	58.0

Source: U.S. Census 1990.

of the foreign-born arrived during the past decade, demonstrating the rapid demographic transformation that has been taking place.

Not surprisingly, these trends altered the ethnic composition of the four school districts (table 6.2). Between 1987 and 1990 alone, the Hispanic population grew from 16 to 25

TABLE 6.2 ***Percent Change in Racial/Ethnic Composition of School District Student Populations: 1987-90***

City	White	Black	Hispanic[a]	Asian	Total Student Population
Washington, D.C.	+3.8	–8.1	+22.4	–4.9	–6.4
Boston	–10.0	+1.7	+16.0	+12.0	+2.2
Oakland	–10.0	–5.7	+25.0	+18.0	+1.8
Houston	–10.7	–7.6	+16.8	–6.5	+1.4

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Common Core Survey Data; school district data.
a. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

percent in the four cities studied. At the same time, both the white and the black student populations declined in three out of the four cities. The change in the Asian population was more mixed, rising rather sharply in two (Boston, 12 percent; Oakland, 18 percent) and declining in two (Houston, -7 percent and Washington, -5 percent).

In the 1980s the LEP population grew by 60 to more than 300 percent in Oakland, Boston, and Washington (table 6.3). In Houston, the only site where the number did not rise dramatically, the school system already enrolled 37,000 LEP students in 1980, a population three-fourths the size of the entire Oakland Unified School District.

As a result, LEP students now make up a sizable share of each district's total school population. A quarter of Oakland's and over a third of Boston's total student populations are now LEP—proportions that exceed even Houston and that certainly depart from our own preconceptions as to the representation of immigrant and LEP children in these school districts.

Changes in the Chapter 1 Target Population

We found sharply divergent patterns between the studied cities and the nation as a whole with regard to trends in child poverty (table 6.4). In the northeastern cities, Washington, D.C., and Boston, the total number of poor children decreased by 31 and 22 percent, respectively, over the course of the decade, in large part because of population declines in the central city. In both cities the number of poor Asian and Hispanic children was rising, while the number of poor black and white children was falling.

In Houston and Oakland, as for the nation as a whole, the number of poor children grew rapidly during the 1980s—by almost 20 percent in Oakland and by 64 percent in Houston.

TABLE 6.3 ***Limited-English-Proficient Students: 1981-91***

City	1981-82	1991-92	Percent Change
Washington, D.C.			
Total Students	100,049	80,618	-19
Number LEP	1,956[a]	3,200 to 3,700[b]	64 to 89
Percent LEP	2	4 to 4.6	
Boston			
Total Students	62,989	57,382	–9
Number LEP	6,757	20,678	206
Percent LEP	11	36	
Oakland			
Total Students	49,783[c]	51,790	4
Number LEP	6,624[c]	13,707	107
Percent LEP	13	26	
Houston			
Total Students	191,831[d]	197,413	3
Number LEP	34,529[d]	39,483	14
Percent LEP	18	20	

Sources: U.S. Census; reports from school districts.
a. Based on 1980 Census figure for children ages 5-17 who do not speak English "very well."
b. Estimated range for school year 1991-92 from Language Minority Affairs Branch.
c. Figures are for school year 1982-83.
d. Figures are for school year 1987-88.

In each case very large proportional increases in the Asian and Hispanic child poverty rates were recorded. At the start of the 1980s, there were more than two poor black children in Houston for every poor Hispanic child. By the end of the decade, poor Hispanic children outnumbered poor black children despite a 27 percent rise in the number of poor black children.

TABLE 6.4 ***Children 5-17 Years Old in Poverty by Race and Ethnicity: 1979 and 1989***

City	1979		1989		Percent Change
	#	%	#	%	
Washington, D.C.					
Total	27,852	100	19,116	100	–31.4
White	585	2.1	539	2.8	–7.9
Black	26,915	96.6	17,603	92.1	–34.6
Hispanic[a]	554	2.0	1,085	5.7	95.8
Asian	159	0.6	164	0.9	3.1
Boston					
Total	26,337	100	20,663	100	–21.5
White	9,686	36.8	5,547	26.8	–42.7
Black	12,058	45.8	9,915	48.0	–17.8
Hispanic[a]	5,280	20.0	5,661	27.4	7.2
Asian	771	2.9	1,511	7.3	96.0
Oakland					
Total	15,291	100	18,260	100	19.4
White	1,185	7.7	1,274	7.0	7.5
Black	11,674	76.3	11,181	61.2	–4.2
Hispanic[a]	1,821	11.9	2,963	16.2	62.7
Asian	1,091	7.1	3,715	20.3	240.5
Houston					
Total	53,182	100	86,980	100	63.6
White	12,478	23.5	21,478	24.7	72.1
Black	30,881	58.1	39,121	45.0	26.7
Hispanic[a]	14,884	28.0	39,745	45.7	167.0
Asian	7,420	14.0	10,578	12.2	42.6

Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990.
a. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

The 1990 Census shows that in Boston, Oakland, and Houston, more than 20 percent of the child poverty population is LEP. At the same time, about 40 percent of all LEP children in each of those cities are poor.[1] Their substantial share of the poverty population and high poverty rates underscore the legitimacy of LEP students' claims to Chapter 1 resources.

Sharp Increases in Concentrated Poverty among Foreign-Born Hispanics and Asians

Poverty among foreign-born, recently arrived immigrants and, in turn, among Hispanics and Asians has grown increasingly concentrated in each of the four sites. Given that Chapter 1 is intended to counteract concentrated poverty, this is perhaps the most striking finding of this study.

Analysis using the Urban Institute's Underclass Data Base reveals that the rate of growth in the foreign-born population in concentrated poverty (i.e., in Census tracts where 40 percent or more of the population is below the poverty line) far outpaced that of the native-born population in all sites except Boston, where the two were roughly equivalent (table 6.5). In Washington the share of the foreign-born population living in concentrated poverty rose by 282 percent, in Houston by 515 percent, and in Oakland by 240 percent during the 1980s. The data also suggest that a high proportion of recent immigrants are living in concentrated poverty.[2]

The demographic transformation of the central-city poverty population is revealed by the high, consistent pattern of growing concentration of poverty among Hispanics (table 6.6). This population grew by 222 percent in Washington, by 70 percent in Boston, by 788 percent in Houston, and by 330 percent in Oakland during the 1980s. The implications of this growth for the implementation of Chapter 1 appear to us to

TABLE 6.5 ***Foreign-Born Population in Concentrated Poverty: 1980-90***[a]

City	1980		1990		Percent Change 1980-90
	#	%	#	%	
Washington, D.C.					
Total	27,498	100.0	20,609	100.0	-25.1
Native born	27,176	98.8	19,380	94.0	-28.7
Foreign born	322	1.2	1,229	6.0	281.7
In U.S. fewer than 5 years	NA	0.0	292	1.4	
Boston					
Total	21,273	100.0	28,738	100.0	35.1
Native born	18,558	87.2	25,139	87.5	35.5
Foreign born	2,715	12.8	3,599	12.5	32.6
In U.S. fewer than 5 years	NA	0.0	1,623	5.6	
Oakland					
Total	19,347	100.0	26,132	100.0	35.1
Native born	17,402	89.9	19,526	74.7	12.2
Foreign born	1,945	10.1	6,606	25.3	239.6
In U.S. fewer than 5 years	NA	0.0	1,738	6.7	
Houston					
Total	44,846	100.0	156,220	100.0	248.3
Native born	40,550	90.4	129,818	83.1	220.1
Foreign born	4,296	9.6	26,402	16.9	514.6
In U.S. fewer than 5 years	NA	0.0	4,297	2.8	

Sources: U.S. Census 1980, 1990; Urban Institute Underclass Data Base.
a. Census tracts where 40 percent or more of the population is poor.

TABLE 6.6 ***Racial/Ethnic Composition of Concentrated Poverty Population: 1980-90***[a]

City	1980		1990		Percent Change 1980-90
	#	%	#	%	
Washington, D.C.					
Total	27,498	100.0	20,609	100.0	–25.1
Non-Hispanic whites	635	2.3	811	3.9	27.7
Non-Hispanic blacks	26,388	96.0	18,753	91.0	–28.9
Hispanics	157	0.6	505	2.5	221.7
Other	318	1.2	540	2.6	69.8
Boston					
Total	21,273	100.0	28,738	100.0	35.1
Non-Hispanic whites	7,782	36.6	9,452	32.9	21.5
Non-Hispanic blacks	9,136	42.9	11,318	39.4	23.9
Hispanics	3,757	17.7	6,344	22.1	68.9
Other	598	2.8	1,624	5.7	171.6
Oakland					
Total	19,347	100.0	26,132	100.0	35.1
Non-Hispanic whites	8,051	41.6	4,432	17.0	–45.0
Non-Hispanic blacks	7,946	41.1	10,899	41.7	37.2
Hispanics	1,259	6.5	5,409	20.7	329.6
Other	2,091	10.8	5,392	20.6	157.9
Houston					
Total	44,846	100.0	156,220	100.0	248.3
Non-Hispanic whites	966	2.2	9,540	6.1	887.6
Non-Hispanic blacks	35,807	79.8	90,080	57.7	151.6
Hispanics	6,136	13.7	54,499	34.9	788.2
Other	1,937	4.3	2,101	1.3	8.5

Sources: U.S. Census 1980, 1990; Urban Institute Underclass Data Base.
a. Census tracts where 40 percent or more of the population is poor.

be profound. However, despite the explosive growth in concentrated poverty among Hispanics and Asians, the absolute numbers of blacks living in concentrated poverty in each of these four cities was far higher than the numbers of Hispanics and Asians.

Participation of LEP Students in Chapter 1

We turn now to the question that is the central focus of this report: To what extent does this growing number of LEP children, many of whom presumably are poor, receive Chapter 1 services in these four cities?

The case studies suggest that LEP children are proportionately represented in Chapter 1 programs when the size of the language minority population reaches the critical mass necessary to exert political influence or when the parents of LEP children have sued the school district. Thus, LEP children have not participated in the Chapter 1 program in Washington and, until recently, in Boston. They have, however, been largely integrated into compensatory education programs in Houston and Oakland. This, in turn, suggests something of a regional phenomenon. If these cities are representative of their regions, then in the West and Southwest, where LEP school populations are larger and better established, the distribution of resources under this federal grants program has been targeted differently than in the East, where the LEP population is usually smaller and more diverse. Indeed there is a national trend toward serving LEP children in Chapter 1 when they are present in large numbers and excluding them when they are not, according to the Prospects study.

We begin with the least inclusive district (Washington), then move along a continuum to what is arguably the most inclusive (Houston).

Washington has the smallest LEP population of the four cities, but it is growing quickly. Unlike each of the others, Washington, until recently, has felt little political or legal pressure to integrate LEP children in special programs other than bilingual education.

Washington has lagged behind most other cities (certainly the three in this study) in its efforts to collect data on limited-English-proficient students, despite the need to do so to satisfy federal requirements. Indeed, it was not until October 1991 that the city conducted its first Home Language Survey, which counted the language-minority students in the system. Similar surveys had been conducted for 10 years or longer in each of the other three cities. Without a clear sense of the size and location of the language-minority population, there was little appreciation for their needs or how they could best be met.

Our research suggests that the LEP population's low representation within Chapter 1 is explained by several factors. First, the parents of many immigrant students do not sign the free-lunch forms used to count Chapter 1-eligible children because the forms are too burdensome, badly translated, or not translated at all, or because of a general fear of government forms. As a result, some schools in which LEP students are concentrated are not eligible for Chapter 1 funds, while others receive fewer funds than they would be entitled to. In addition, receipt of Chapter 1 services historically has been contingent upon low scores on the California Test of Basic Skills and on being held back a grade level. According to D.C. school policy, the test was not administered to LEP children because of their limited language ability, and LEP children were initially placed in classes according to their age. With no alternative test in the students' native-languages and no way to know if they were in fact behind grade level, LEP students ended up being excluded from Chapter 1.[3]

Limited representation of LEP children in the program in Washington is also explained, in part, by the unusual institutional arrangements in that city. In Washington, the Chapter

1 program is, for the most part, a separate program within the school system, employing its own administrators and instructional staff. Chapter 1 teachers answer to Chapter 1 administrators, not to school principals. It has been claimed that this unit operates largely independently and that its leadership has viewed the education of LEP children as the responsibility of the system's Language Minority Affairs Branch. Some have also observed that the principal vehicle of instruction employed by Chapter 1 in the district—pullout remedial instruction using computer programs in English—does not lend itself to teaching LEP children.

In the spring of 1993, however, the D.C. Public Schools formed a task force on Chapter 1 and language-minority students specifically to address the issue of LEP students' inclusion in Chapter 1. As a result of the precedent set by the lawsuit in Boston as well as pressure from the Language Minority Affairs Branch and the community, the district appears poised to take steps to incorporate LEP students into Chapter 1.

Boston, like Washington, has not historically served LEP children within its Chapter 1 program. In the 1990-91 school year, for example, LEP students constituted 23 percent of the total enrollment of the Boston Public Schools, but only 4 percent (576 children) of recipients of Chapter 1 services. As in Washington, the achievement test (Metropolitan Achievement Test or MAT) that was used to determine eligibility for Chapter 1 was typically not given to LEP children.

In 1991, however, the Boston Public Schools were the target of a lawsuit that called for Chapter 1 services to be distributed to LEP students in a manner that would reflect their representation among the educationally disadvantaged.[4] The plaintiffs prevailed in large part, and the school system signed a consent agreement that would reallocate a share of Chapter 1 resources to LEP children.

The school system's response to the lawsuit has been striking, to say the least. Between 1990-91 and 1991-92 the number of LEP students counted as Chapter 1 recipients rose

from 576 to 9,506, and the LEP share of total Chapter 1 recipients rose from 4 percent to 43 percent (see table A.2 and Boston Public Schools 1993). Under Boston's revised regulations all students who score below the 46th percentile on the tests used to determine eligibility for Chapter 1, as well as all children who do not take the tests, are eligible for the program.[5]

This jump in LEP enrollment happened in large part because the Boston Public Schools altered their approach to delivering Chapter 1 services: going from an individual, remedial approach to a schoolwide strategy. (Recall that one main reform trend in the field of Chapter 1 is to provide comparatively unconstrained resources to schools in which 75 percent of the students are poor.) Chapter 1 funds no longer must be spent on the subset of a school population that is eligible for Chapter 1 but can be used to benefit all students within the school.

The Boston experience raises questions about the degree to which LEP students (or other special-needs populations, for that matter) are actually being served as opposed to simply being counted within schoolwide programs. Will the schoolwide strategy turn out to be a catalyst for educational reform? Or does it simply represent a new accounting method that is intended to deflect legal and political pressure? Indeed, is it fair to count all students in a schoolwide Chapter 1 program as "served"? The Boston school system has considered counting only those students who would have been served under the pullout system. As more schools provide schoolwide services, the issues of how to count the number of participants, how to interpret expenditures per pupil, and what instructional reforms to adopt within schoolwide programs become issues for the Chapter 1 program nationally.

Oakland reflects the demographic transformation of California. Thirty percent of the city's student population is language minority and a quarter is LEP. It is a population that is unusually diverse, being composed of comparatively even shares of Mexicans, Central Americans, Chinese, Laotians,

and Cambodians. As in Boston, the experience in Oakland confirms the power of legal action to spur the distribution of Chapter 1 resources to LEP children: Virtually the entire eligible LEP population is served by the school district's compensatory education program. The universal extension of service owes to practices that can be ascribed to (1) earlier litigation (*Zambrano v. Oakland Unified School District*) intended to ensure that LEP students were provided a program of quality bilingual education,[6] (2) the ongoing and often contentious implementation of the settlement agreement reached in that suit (which has been occurring for a decade), and (3) the way in which recipients of Chapter 1 services are counted in Oakland and California.

The focus of the litigation was on ensuring that the Oakland school district recruit and hire a sufficient number of bilingual-education teachers to meet the state legal requirement that all students needing native-language instructional services receive them. We believe that the issues raised by the case, along with the attention that it focused on the needs and rights of LEP children, contributed to the proportional inclusion of LEP students within the district's compensatory education programs. In short, *Zambrano* can be viewed as having prepared the ground for the equal distribution of compensatory education services in Oakland.

To grant the claim that virtually all poor LEP children in Oakland receive Chapter 1 services, one has to accept a rather broad formulation of Chapter 1 that includes compensatory education services supported not just under the federal program but also the state Education Impact Assistance program.[7] Recipients of services under both Chapter 1 and the state program are pooled for reporting purposes in California.

While district officials see LEP students as being eligible for compensatory education services, they feel constrained about the type of services that they can provide with different streams of funding. Specifically, they avoid using Chapter 1 funds to provide LEP students with remedial or supplementary ESL or native-language instruction and instead use state

funds to provide such services.[8] At minimum, this complicates program administration.

As one outcome of the *Zambrano* settlement agreement, Oakland has begun to test students in their native-languages to determine their basic skill levels. Tests are given in six major languages. Ironically, this may work to reduce the number of LEP students eligible for Chapter 1 services. Historically, all LEP children in a low-income school who were deemed to be educationally disadvantaged were eligible for Chapter 1. However, if these tests reveal that a student is achieving at grade level in his or her native-language, then he or she becomes ineligible for compensatory education.

Houston reflects the force of political rather than legal pressure to include LEP children in Chapter 1. In 1987 more than 10,000 LEP students, or 32 percent of the total LEP population in Houston, received Chapter 1 services. By 1991, 19,400, or 49 percent, of all LEP students were receiving Chapter 1 services (table A.4).

The political story here is one of numbers. From 1987 to 1992 the school system went from being a majority black district to a majority Hispanic district. In 1990, the school system's first-grade cohort was 65 percent Hispanic, a development that had been predicted for the year 2000. Moreover, Houston is the only one of the four cities examined here that began the decade with both a large number and a large share of LEP students in its school system. (It enrolled 37,000 LEP students in 1980 and 38,000 in 1990.)

These changes have had important institutional effects. In 1989, for example, the Chapter 1 program was moved from the Houston Independent School District's Division of Curriculum and Instruction and placed under the control of the Superintendent for Multilingual Education in what is now called the Division of Multilingual and Compensatory Education. This has tended, of course, to give the program much more of an orientation to LEP/language-minority students. Reflecting the size and influence of the district's Hispanic population, the achievement tests that are used to determine

eligibility for Chapter 1 services are administered in both Spanish and English in Houston.

Social Costs of Demographic Change

Displacement

We posited earlier that one possible outcome of demographic change would be either the exclusion of newcomers from Chapter 1 or the displacement of established beneficiaries from the program. As we look across the four case study cities, we see no evidence of displacement.

The small LEP population in Washington, along with the historical absence of either political or legal pressure, has meant that LEP students can be viewed as having been underserved by, and in large part excluded from, the program. Correlatively, this has meant that there has been no displacement of traditional beneficiary groups.

In the other three cities, legal and political pressure has been met or anticipated by the broad inclusion of LEP students within Chapter 1. Thus, the Oakland, Houston, and Boston school districts have adjusted to claims of legal or political entitlement by expanding their Chapter 1 programs, without displacing established beneficiaries. This comports with the national trends observed earlier of broadening the base of Chapter 1 recipients rather than increasing allocations per participant. By expanding the number of beneficiaries, the most politically difficult questions of ethnic competition have been deflected.

This expansion has been accomplished, in part, by shifting from an individualized service delivery approach to a schoolwide model, permitting schools to rapidly increase the number of students they claim to serve under Chapter 1 without substantial new resources. Take, for example, the cases of Houston and Boston. In Houston, enrollment in Chapter 1 almost doubled between 1987-88 and 1991-92 alone, grow-

ing from 32,000 to 59,000 (table A.4). In Boston, reported enrollment in the program has nearly doubled in one year, going from 13,248 in 1990-91 to 22,210 in 1991-92 (table A.2). As table 6.7 indicates, the share of both LEP and non-LEP students enrolled in schoolwide programs is substantial in both Houston and Washington, and encompasses virtually the entire Chapter 1 population of Boston.

TABLE 6.7 ***Share of Chapter 1 Population in Schoolwide Programs for Selected Cities: 1991-92***

City	% Chapter 1 LEP in Schoolwide	% Chapter 1 Non-LEP in Schoolwide
Houston	39	41
Washington, D.C.	38	41
Boston	78	77

Sources: Data provided by individual school districts.

In sum, the inclusion of LEP and other new populations does not appear to displace native blacks. In Boston, for example, there was a 13 percent rise in the number of blacks receiving Chapter 1 services during the 1980s, despite a decline in the number of blacks in poverty during that decade. And as table 6.8 makes clear, the distribution of Chapter 1 resources in the Houston public schools remains closely calibrated to the racial and ethnic breakdown of the school district's population as a whole, despite a dramatic rise in Hispanic poverty.

We were unable to conduct this kind of analysis in Oakland because the racial and ethnic breakdown of Chapter 1 recipients was not readily available.

Reduced Spending per Pupil

The entry of LEP students into Chapter 1 does not appear to have led to the direct displacement of established beneficiary

TABLE 6.8 ***Distribution of Chapter 1 and Free-Lunch Resources by Race and Ethnicity in Houston: 1987-88 and 1991-92***

Race/Ethnicity	Free-Lunch 1987-88 (%)	Chapter 1 1987-88 (%)	Free-Lunch 1991-92 (%)	Chapter 1 1991-92 (%)
Black (Not Hispanic)	43.9	40.1	37.3	37.0
White (Not Hispanic)	4.2	3.2	3.6	3.4
Hispanic	49.5	55.1	57.0	58.3
Asian	2.3	1.6	2.0	1.3

Source: Houston Independent School District.

groups. But what are the implications of the entry of LEP students into Chapter 1 for per-pupil expenditures and the intensity of services that are delivered? Given the limits of the data that we have collected we can only say that LEP participation in Chapter 1 has had marginal to no effects on expenditures within Washington, but has contributed to reduced per-pupil spending in Boston and Houston. (Again, data limitations do not permit this kind of analysis for Oakland.) However, it is difficult to determine what share of the reduction in per pupil spending is due to increased numbers of LEP participants and what share is due to a general expansion in Chapter 1 enrollment and to a general expansion in Chapter 1 enrollment and to the shift to schoolwide services in which all students in a school are counted as served.

How have the dollars allocated per participant changed over time in the cities examined (table 6.9)?

An analysis of the estimated change in dollars allocated per participant (a rough approximation for per-pupil spending) shows that per-pupil allocations have risen in Washington, where Chapter 1 enrollment has fallen over time and

TABLE 6.9 ***Estimated Chapter 1 Dollars Allocated per Participant over Time***[a]

City	$ Per Part., Time 1		$ Per Part., Time 2[b]		Percent Change
	$	Year	$	Year	
Washington, D.C.	684	(1981)	833	(1991)	22
Boston	895	(1981)	1,112	(1990)	24
			733	(1991)	–18
Houston	867	(1987)	406	(1991)	–53
Oakland	NA	(NA)	360	(1991)	NA

a. Adjusted for inflation.
b. These estimates are based on the actual number of participants and on "basic grant" allocations to counties, not school districts. They do not include "concentration grants" under the Chapter 1 program, and they do not purport to be the actual dollars spent per participant but are, rather, a proxy for showing trends in allocations over time.

where LEP students are as yet the least fully integrated into the Chapter 1 program. In Boston, per-pupil allocations rose during the 1980s before many LEP students were included in Chapter 1 and while funding to the school district was increasing. However, following implementation of the court settlement and the broad expansion in schoolwide programs that coincided with it, Chapter 1 participation rose rapidly—from 13,000 in 1990 to 35,000 participants in 1992, or by 270 percent—and per-pupil allocations fell sharply. In Houston, the inclusion of LEP students in Chapter 1 and an increase in the number of schoolwide programs also dramatically lowered per-pupil allocations between 1987 and 1991. It must be emphasized, though, that these allocation figures assume that all participants in Chapter 1 receive equivalently intensive services. We have no way of knowing whether that is the case, or whether established beneficiary populations continue to

benefit disproportionately from the program. It should also be emphasized that these reductions in per-pupil allocations are the result of including low-achieving, LEP students who are, and have been, *eligible* for Chapter 1 but who were previously excluded from the program.

Has Demographic Change Accelerated Reform of Chapter 1?

The shift from an individualized approach to instruction to a schoolwide approach begs the question: Has the arrival of newcomer populations effectively hastened a potentially important reform of Chapter 1? Or has it simply led to new, and perhaps somewhat inflated, counts of program beneficiaries? We cannot answer these questions on the strength of this small-scale study. But we can make several observations on developments within the four sites visited and recommend further study of the implications of a shift to schoolwide programs for special-needs populations within Chapter 1.

Proponents of schoolwide programs, such as Johns Hopkins University Professor Robert Slavin, argue that they can represent an important reform of Chapter 1 when used for effective staff development. Slavin contends that the payoff from improving teacher skills is likely to be higher than that associated with providing low-achieving children with an hour or two of remedial instruction a week. This owes in part to the fact that under a pullout approach, the removal of a child from the classroom can not only disrupt the flow of the student's day, it can have a stigmatizing effect. From an administrative perspective, being forced to parcel out Chapter 1 resources—from pencils and paper to field trips—only to Chapter 1 students is difficult and inefficient. For these and other reasons the shift to a schoolwide approach could be positive—for both LEP and other students.

But it is not at all clear that the movement to schoolwide instruction that is taking place will meet the distinctive educational needs of disadvantaged LEP children. In Boston, for example, one school administrator told us that the real incentive to adopt a schoolwide approach was "relief from regulatory compliance." And while Boston has responded to the court decree by hiring 20 additional teachers to provide native-language and ESL instruction to LEP children under Chapter 1, on a school-level basis this change does not necessarily translate into appropriate services for all LEP students. In one school, for instance, there is only one native-language Chapter 1 teacher and nearly 300 Chapter 1-eligible LEP children.

In Houston, serving LEP children in schoolwide programs, or for that matter in individual pullout programs, is complicated by the larger problem of finding and paying bilingual teachers. We were told that the Houston school district does not hire certified bilingual teachers for the Chapter 1 program because of regulatory constraints on paying the kind of salary supplement that is routinely offered to bilingual teachers to recruit them to the district.[9]

Our interviews with staff and administrators in the four districts did not provide evidence that important curricular or other innovations designed to meet the needs of LEP children had been systematically introduced in their Chapter 1 programs. (However, we did not study differences in individual schools and were able to learn only about general, districtwide patterns.) From an instructional standpoint, the most common uses to which Chapter 1 funds were put, when they were used to serve LEP children, were the purchase of instructional materials in Spanish and the hiring of bilingual aides. While the former is unarguably a valuable way to spend Chapter 1 dollars, the merits of the latter are currently the subject of some debate in education circles.

This is not to say that schoolwide programs cannot lead to highly innovative strategies for assisting LEP and newcomer students. In Albuquerque, New Mexico, for example, one

school used its Chapter 1 funds to improve collaborative planning among teachers and increase parental involvement. To accomplish the latter, the school set aside a classroom and created a parent center where the Chapter 1 parents could make phone calls, do laundry, learn computer skills, and the like.[10]

Notes, chapter 6

1. Findings from a 1 percent sample of the 1990 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) data.

2. Census data reveal that slightly more than half of the foreign-born population of these four cities entered between 1980 and 1990 (table 6.1). If one assumes that half of those who reported that they entered during the 1980s arrived during the second half of the decade, then roughly one-quarter of the foreign-born fall into the category of having "entered during the past five years" (table 6.5). Comparing the number of foreign-born here for five years or less living in concentrated poverty with the size of the total foreign-born population living in concentrated poverty reveals that the ratio of the former to the latter is usually at least one to four, suggesting that a substantial share of recent immigrants are living in concentrated poverty.

3. The D.C. Public Schools have begun giving newly entering Spanish-speaking students the Spanish Assessment for Basic Education (SABE) test, which assesses achievement in Spanish.

4. *Boston Master Parents Advisory Council et al. v. Boston Public Schools et al.*, No. 91-11725-Z (D. Mass. 1991).

5. Final selection of Chapter 1 students is based on teacher recommendations and multiple-criteria checklists aimed at determining whether a student is performing below the level of his or her peers.

6. *Zambrano v. Oakland Unified School District*, No. 584503-9 (Alameda Cty. Super. Ct. June 1985).

7. In some respects, viewing the two programs as one may make some sense. California's Education Impact Assistance program is divided into two major subprograms: the State Compensatory Education (SCE) Program and a program aimed at providing supplemental services to limited-English-proficient students (the LEP program).

Both are targeted in large measure at disadvantaged youth. Moreover, the SCE program is administered using Chapter 1 implementing regulations.

In other respects, Chapter 1 and the state programs can be differentiated. The LEP component of the state program permits schools to provide supplemental instruction to LEP children in their native-language or in ESL classes. Such services are thought to be barred under the federal program. See, generally, California State Compensatory Education Program, Cal. Code Ed. 54,000 et seq.

8. This restriction is attributed to the provision in Chapter 1 that states: "Funds under this part may not be used to provide services that are otherwise required by law to be made available to such [LEP] children."

In Oakland, then, this language is read to largely bar the use of Chapter 1 funds for ESL or bilingual instruction. In Boston, by way of contrast, it has been read differently. Officials there take the provision to mean that students who for one reason or another (e.g., lack of resources, denial of parental consent) are not in either bilingual or ESL classes are not eligible to receive native-language instruction within the Chapter 1 program. LEP students who do receive this instruction in the core curriculum are, however, eligible for supplemental native-language or ESL instruction from Chapter 1.

9. However, the interpretation of the statute and regulations in the Chapter 1 policy manual does not appear to prohibit paying such a supplement (U.S. Department of Education 1990).

10. Conversation with former Albuquerque school official, September 1992.

Chapter Seven

IMPLICATIONS FOR CHAPTER 1'S REAUTHORIZATION

In the following pages, we draw some implications of the results we have reported here for the reauthorization of Chapter 1. We do so by taking up several of the many proposals for reform that have been advanced, some of which are directly addressed to LEP students' needs and some of which address the program as a whole.[1] Our conclusions deal with entry into Chapter 1, allocation of resources, and monitoring of results.

Clarifying Eligibility for Chapter 1

Perhaps the most important threshold issue for limited-English-proficient children is the barrier to participation and service posed by the mandate that Chapter 1 serve only those LEP students who have educational needs "stemming from educational deprivation and not related solely to . . . limited English proficiency." Further, the legislation also holds, as

we have noted, that Chapter 1 funds cannot be used to provide services to LEP students that "are otherwise required by law to be made available to such children."

The former confuses the eligibility of LEP children for Chapter 1 and, according to at least one other study (Strang and Carlson 1991), represents a barrier to extending Chapter 1 services to LEP students. Given the rapid rise in the number of limited-English-proficient children in the nation's schools, the concentration of those students in schools where large numbers of students are poor, and LEP students' strong equitable claims to resources, this constraint seems problematic. As the national assessment of Chapter 1 points out, "In practice, limited English proficiency is so closely tied to low income and low educational attainment that such distinctions are meaningless and virtually impossible to measure" (U.S. Department of Education 1993). Removing confusion over the eligibility of limited-English-proficient children for Chapter 1 services could accelerate their inclusion in those systems in which they are underrepresented or excluded (Stanford Working Group 1993). Moreover, there is a good argument for having programs such as Chapter 1 administered under rules that are transparent and comprehensible and that promote uniform implementation.

At the same time, the bar to providing LEP children with services "otherwise required by law" has inhibited the delivery of what some teachers and administrators believe to be appropriate remedial native-language or ESL instruction. In some districts this provision has been interpreted to mean that no native-language or ESL service may be provided under Chapter 1. If this message is discouraging the adoption of effective instructional methods, then it may make sense to at least clarify the fact that providing remedial services in a native language is encouraged so long as it supplements the basic instructional program. Distinguishing between services that are supplemental to or supplanting of the basic curriculum has been a challenge to Chapter 1 from its inception and can be solved in this context as well as others.

Improving Capacity for Testing in Native Languages

Even if an LEP student's achievement levels in his or her native language no longer determine eligibility for Chapter 1, the delivery of appropriate remedial and other instruction both within and outside the context of Chapter 1 depends on reliable assessment instruments. With the exception of Spanish, however, we found that school districts were attempting to cobble together their own native-language tests in languages ranging from Portuguese to Lao, often unaware whether a suitable test was available in another school district or state. Given the expanding diversity and numbers of immigrants, and the scale economies of developing and later distributing such tests, there is a strong argument for expanding the federal role in this area. If such tests do not exist, they could be centrally developed for the most commonly spoken languages. Where they do exist, consideration might be given to distributing them more broadly.

Concentrating Chapter 1 Funding in Disadvantaged Areas

We have demonstrated that the LEP population is growing especially rapidly in the nation's urban schools. We have also found a broad expansion in the number and share of the foreign-born who are now living in areas of concentrated poverty in the four case study cities. These findings suggest that further concentrating Chapter 1 funds in disadvantaged neighborhoods and schools in the nation's central cities would greatly benefit the foreign-born, Hispanic, LEP, and, to a lesser extent, Asian populations. (This recommendation is also advanced by other assessments of Chapter 1, including the Stanford Working Group.) The growing share of children

in concentrated poverty who are LEP also underscores the importance of adapting Chapter 1 services to the needs of newcomer populations.

Chapter 1 is currently distributed through a two-part formula based on two different poverty indicators. One (basic grants) allocates aid according to the number of low-income children in a state. The other (concentration grants) allocates aid based on the concentration of low-income children in a state. Concentration grants represented only 8.3 percent of total Chapter 1 outlays in FY 1990 (Barro 1991). One strategy for concentrating Chapter 1 funding in disadvantaged schools or communities would be to allocate a greater share of total Chapter 1 spending to concentration grants. Another strategy would be to combine basic and concentration grants and allocate a single stream of funds to school districts with the greatest concentration of poverty.

As Barro also points out, the choice of the metric used to distribute such aid has powerful effects on the jurisdictions that emerge as winners and losers. One approach to adjusting the formula that appears to reward urban districts, as well as the states that have absorbed the largest numbers of immigrants over the past decade, is to raise the threshold level of the share and number of children in poverty in an individual community. These changes would tilt funding toward large, urbanized areas, with more aid going to both California and Massachusetts (Barro 1991, 4-35).

Updating Chapter 1 Poverty Data More Frequently

Because Chapter 1 uses the decennial Census to allocate funds, national Chapter 1 dollars for the 1992-93 school year were allocated mainly on the basis of the national distribution of poor children in 1979. This distribution fails to take account of the high level of immigration that has taken place

over the past decade. More important, the general approach of allocating resources based on the decennial Census often fails to account for the kind of rapid, concentrated growth to which immigration gives rise. Indeed, over the past decade the states that have been penalized most by this counting strategy have been California and Texas—the states that have absorbed the largest numbers of immigrants and that, together, enroll 82 percent of all LEP participants in Chapter 1 nationally.

When the 1990 Census is used in school year 1993-94, California and Texas are likely to gain Chapter 1 funding, but, under the current formula, Washington, D.C., and Massachusetts, with their smaller numbers (but not rates of growth) of immigrants, are likely to receive proportionately fewer Chapter 1 dollars. Thus, the shift to using the 1990 Census means that the places that have not yet, or have just begun, to serve immigrants in their Chapter 1 program will be faced with decreasing or slow-growing Chapter 1 dollars, raising anew questions of competition between newcomers and natives in coming years.

Severing the link between the Chapter 1 allocation formula and the decennial Census begs the question of what alternative metric might be adopted. One alternative measure would be the number of children receiving AFDC. However, this is an especially inappropriate measure for newcomers, many of whom are barred from or rarely receive these payments.[2] Another commonly advanced alternative measure is free- or reduced-price lunch counts. As Barro (1991) points out, though, there are numerous problems with this strategy. It would introduce a new, looser standard, as poverty thresholds for free or reduced lunches are set at 130 or 185 percent of the dollar figure that demarcates the "poverty line." In addition, school lunch counts are:

> influenced by the policies and practices of state and local educational agencies. . . . Making the size of a state's Chapter 1 grant contingent on the number of school lunch eligibles

> the state reports could create incentives for officials to alter, and perhaps distort, the process of determining eligibility for the purpose of generating additional federal funds. (Barro 1991, 4-24)

Whether such counts could be normalized and regulated needs to be further examined.

One promising approach that has recently been advanced by the Census Bureau would be to use the same tax and social security records that are now used to annually update the population (versus poverty) estimates done by the Census. This income information, when supplemented with data from other sources such as food stamp program record files, could help to identify trends in income and poverty status over time across different local jurisdictions (Ruggles 1993).

Monitoring Services and Outcomes for LEP Students

Our research has shown that school districts often do not serve LEP students in Chapter 1 unless they are pushed to do so, politically or legally. This suggests that some monitoring to ensure that LEP students receive a proportionate share of Chapter 1 services may be advisable. This recommendation holds both for traditional programs and, especially, for schoolwide programs, in which it is difficult to tell what "being served" really means. Finally, we see a need for further study of the services received by LEP students in schoolwide programs and for the broad dissemination of models of effective schoolwide programs for LEP children. Schoolwide programs could also help school districts overcome the fragmentation of resources brought to bear on the education of LEP children noted by this and other reports and studies (Westat, Stanford Working Group). This fragmentation is most noticeable in the lack of coordination among Chapter 1,

bilingual education and migrant education programs at the school, district, and state levels.

Notes, chapter 7

1. Three works stand out in this literature: U.S. Department of Education (1993), Barro (1991), and Commission on Chapter 1 (1992).

2. This method may also be problematic for counting immigrant children because their parents are often fearful of or unable to complete the required forms.

APPENDIX

TABLE A.1 ***District of Columbia Public Schools***

	1980-81		1991-92		Percent Change
	#	%	#	%	
Total Enrollment	100,049		80,618		-19
LEP students	1,956[a]	2	3,200 to 3,700	4 to 4.6	64 to 89
Total Chapter 1 Participants	20,280		17,932		-12
LEP participants	[c]		556	3	
LEP in schoolwide			213	38	
LEP in traditional			343	62	
Non-LEP participants			17,376	97	
Non-LEP in schoolwide			7,105[b]	41	
Non-LEP in traditional			10,271[b]	59	

Source: School district data.
a. Based on 1980 Census figure for children ages 5-17 who do not speak English "very well."
b. These data are preliminary.
c. Data were not available.

TABLE A.2 ***Boston Public Schools***

	1981-82		1990-91		1991-92		Percent Change 1981-91/92
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Enrollment[a]	62,989		56,264		57,382		-9
LEP students	6,757	11	13,114	23	20,678[b]	36	306
Total Chapter 1 Participants	13,168		13,248		22,210		68
LEP participants			576	4	9,506	43	1,550
LEP in schoolwide					7,410	78	
LEP in traditional					2,096	22	
Non-LEP participants					12,704	57	
Non-LEP in schoolwide					9,777	77	
Non-LEP in traditional					2,927	23	

Source: School district data.

a. 1981-82 total enrollment is based on October data, while 1990-91 and 1991-92 total enrollment is based on June data. Comparable June 1982 enrollment may be several thousand less.

b. The sharp increase in the total number of LEP students is due to improved counting procedures and changes in definition, such as inclusion of students in the school district for more than four years.

TABLE A.3 ***Oakland Unified School District***

	1982-83		1991-92		Percent Change
	#	%	#	%	
Total Enrollment	49,783		51,790		4
LEP students	6,625	13	13,707	26	107
Total Chapter 1 Participants	[a]		33,711		
LEP participants			10,887	32	
LEP in schoolwide			[a]		
LEP in traditional			[a]		
Non-LEP participants			22,824	68	
Non-LEP in schoolwide			[a]		
Non-LEP in traditional			[a]		

Source: School district data.
a. Data were not available.

TABLE A.4 ***Houston Independent School District***

	1987-88		1991-92		Percent Change
	#	%	#	%	
Total Enrollment	191,831		197,413		3
LEP students	34,529	18	39,483	20	14
Total Chapter 1 Participants	31,800		59,460		62
LEP participants	10,940	34	19,400	33	77
LEP in schoolwide			7,474	39	
LEP in traditional			11,926	61	
Non-LEP participants	20,860		40,060[a]	67	27
Non-LEP in schoolwide			16,339	41	
Non-LEP in traditional			23,721	59	

Source: School district data.
a. Participation data are being reviewed by the HISD.

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ABOUT THE IMMIGRANT POLICY PROGRAM

A new Immigrant Policy Program has been created at the Urban Institute with the support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The overall goal of the program is to research, design, and promote policies that integrate newcomers into the United States.

Underlying Issue

In the last three decades there has been a steady expansion in immigration to the United States. Immigration now exceeds one million persons per year, surpassing the number of newcomers admitted even during the early 20th Century. One third of net annual population growth in the United States can be directly attributed to immigration.

Despite the fact that the United States has one of the most inclusionary immigration policies in the Western world, the nation's immigrant policies—those policies that encourage or discourage the integration of newcomers—could be characterized as being largely hands-off and ad hoc. This disjuncture between the nation's immigration and immigrant policies occurs at a time when immigrants constitute a steadily growing share of the nation's workforce, and when many enter with low education and job skills and a limited ability to speak English. Further, they enter at a time when the number of

good jobs requiring low skills is rapidly shrinking and the effectiveness of our public institutions that have historically integrated newcomer populations—the public schools, for example—has been in decline.

The Program's Mission

The Immigrant Policy Program's principal mission is to:

- ❑ Develop systematic knowledge on immigrants, their economic mobility and social integration, and public policies that influence them;
- ❑ Disseminate knowledge broadly to government agencies, nonprofit organizations, scholars, and the media; and
- ❑ Advise policymakers on the merits of current and proposed policies.

The Immigrant Policy Program is directed by Michael Fix, an attorney and senior research associate. Fix is the editor of *The Paper Curtain: Employer Sanctions' Implementation, Impact, and Reform* and co-editor of *Clear and Convincing Evidence: Measurement of Discrimination in America.* The program is managed by Wendy Zimmermann, a research associate who has worked extensively in the areas of immigration and immigrant policy.

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